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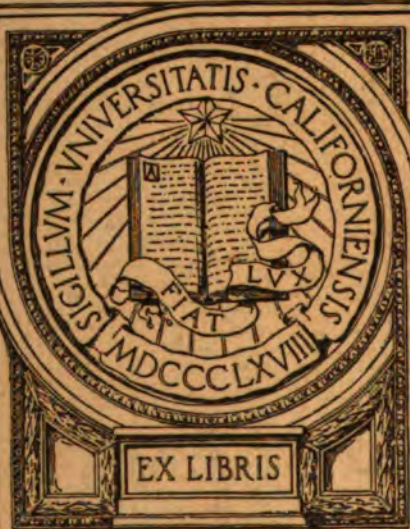
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JANE K. SATHER  
LAW BOOK FVND







# SPAIN

BY

JAMES A. HARRISON

Professor of History and Modern Languages in Washington and  
Lee University

"How much of my young heart, O Spain,  
Went out to thee in days of yore!  
What dreams romantic filled my brain,  
And summoned back to life again  
The Paladins of Charlemain,  
The Old Campeador!"

REVISED AND ENLARGED

*OVER ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS*



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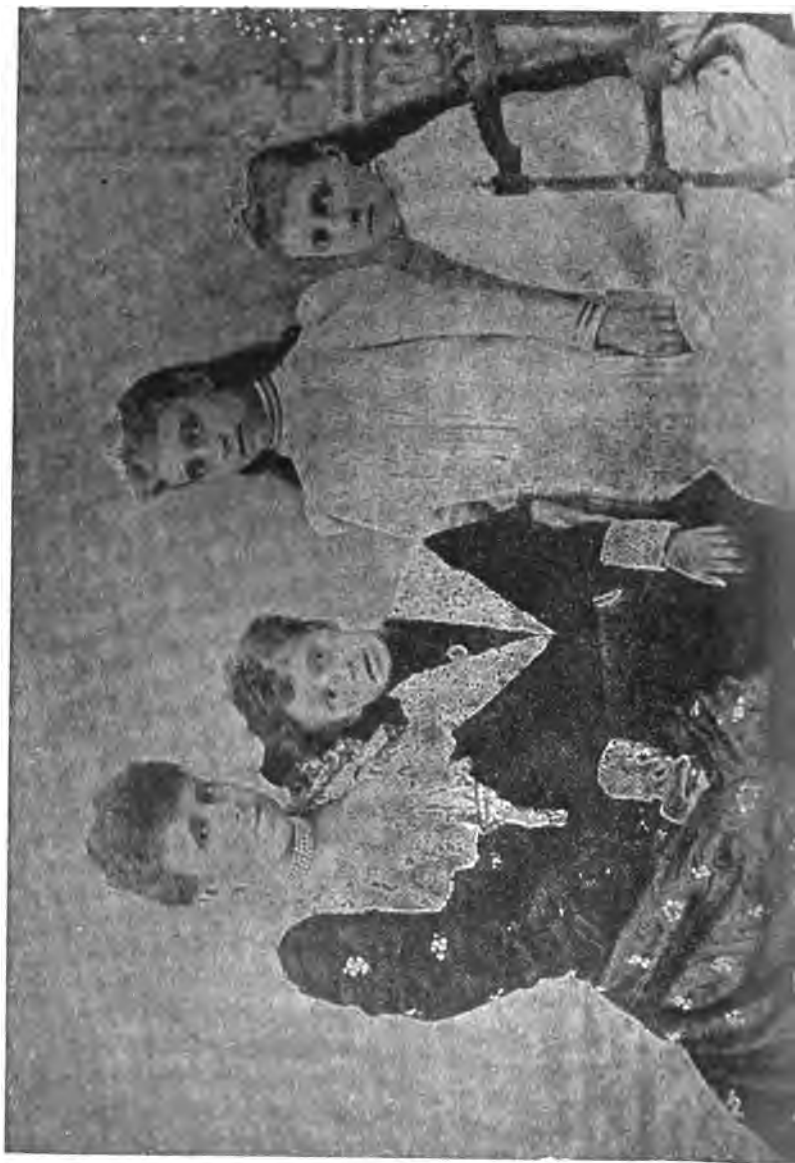
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**Spain in History**

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1411-1492  
to 1501  
AD 1492-1501

# THE CALIFORNIA



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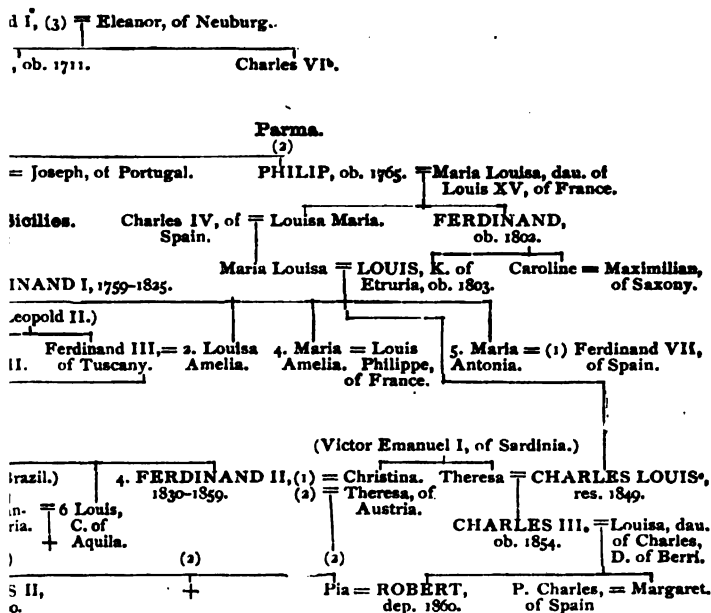
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- a Recognized heir of Charles II of Spain until his death.
- b Rival claimants of Spain after Charles II, the elder brother of each resigning his pretensions.
- c Deposed by Napoleon, 1807; restored to Parma on death of Maria Louisa, Napoleon's widow, in 1847.
- d Ferdinand VII was proclaimed on his father's resignation, but was set aside by Napoleon, and replaced by Joseph Buonaparte till 1814.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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**R**ECENT events have vastly increased public interest in Spain, with its splendid annals of Empire, now sadly tarnished, and its rich cluster of historic associations. Apart from the war which has unhappily broken out between this country and the once famous peninsular Power, always keen must be the interest of Americans in Spain and the Spanish kingdom. It is the land, as every schoolboy knows, whence Columbus set forth to discover the New World, and in whose pathway came Cortes and Pizarro, Balboa, and Ponce de Leon — those renowned heroes of early adventure and discovery in Spanish America. It is the land, moreover, which, to most of us, Washington Irving and Prescott first made attractive, in the domain both of history and romance. The sun has long set on the era of Spain's glory with which these writers so captivately deal. But there is much in the nation's annals before and after Ferdinand and Isabella's day, and that which saw the fall of the Moorish power in Spain, to interest the historical student and entertain and instruct the general reader. It is the record of these annals, for over twenty fateful centuries, that is vividly presented in the

following pages, and with such accuracy as well as continuity in Prof. Harrison's narrative, as becomes a scholar and profound student of history. Our author's work has taken high rank among the popular histories of Spain, and its merit is such as to call for a new edition and to warrant the publishers in issuing it, with supplementary matter to date, and these few brief words of introduction.

Spain, it need hardly be said, has not been fortunate in her colonies. Nor can it be affirmed that she has been more happy, save for brief periods, in her domestic history. An example of this is seen not only in the present armed collision with this country, but in the perturbed state of her internal politics and the constant peril of the present Bourbon dynasty. For the past hundred years, Spain has been harrowed by political convulsions and civil wars. Even before she attained the status of a nation, the Iberian Peninsula was the theatre of chronic strife. Anterior to the Christian era, her coasts had been pounced upon by Phœnician, Greek, and Carthaginian traders, and in the Punic wars the Romans had overran her provinces as they overran Gaul and early Britain. The Hispano-Romans, in turn, were dominated by the northern Teutonic tribes, including roving bands of Alans, Vandals, and Suevi. Then in the fifth century of our era the whole country was inundated by a wave of Gothic invasion. This empire of the Visigoths extended over Aquitania, Septimania, and the whole of Spain. The Gothic kingdom, however, was in the eighth century to give place to the Arab-Moors, a new conquering people who

came out of the East and with unexampled expedition made themselves masters of the peninsula, from the pillars of Hercules to the Pyrenees. But the Moslem conquerors were themselves to become conquered, though for three centuries the annals of Spain were to be enriched by the splendors of Moro-Arabian civilization and greatness.

In the eleventh century Mohammedan Spain began to be broken into petty kingdoms, and a decline set in when Moslem rule felt the on-coming power and irresistible attacks of the Christians. In the intervals of the long wars which resulted in the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Moors, Christian kingdoms were gradually established in Spain, and with them sprang up the noxious weeds of race bigotry and religious fanaticism. This was specially exemplified in the sixteenth century when the Inquisition came into hideous activity in the Netherlands in revolt, and tarnished the glory of Spain's national ascendancy. Whether the church, with its despotic and reactionary methods, is to blame for the decline of Spain as a nation, which begins at this period to show itself, we do not undertake to say. There can be no question of the fact, however, that Spain has since become an enfeebled power, and her people have lost much of their old-time race efficiency and national vigor. It would seem that the effort to expel the Moors exhausted the Spanish nation and lowered the fighting qualities of the people. With the decline in national prestige came the inevitable declension in morals, hastened doubtless by the luxury produced, during the nation's

dominance in Spanish America, by the influx of New World gold.

For a time, in Spain's halcyon era, Isabella, bigot though she was, kept a stiff rein on her turbulent nobles, "frowned upon the laxity of the clergy, denounced the heresy of the people, and laid a heavy hand upon enemies of every degree and evil-doers of every class." Under the most Catholic King, Philip II., Spain, despite the folly and failure of the Armada, was still a puissant though a thoroughly despotic nation; but after him, if we except the era of Charles III., there came centuries of decrepitude, "with governments of debauchees and thieves, of superstition made darker by the spread of light in the world around it, of boastful impotence and pride in rags." After an inglorious struggle, Portugal, which by nature belongs to Spain, was with all her colonies lost to her; the Netherlands were next to fall from her grasp, and the nation became a prey to her own internal dissensions, aggravated by corruption and lawless greed. Early in the eighteenth century Gibraltar passed into British hands, and Spain's policy was shaped and directed by the intrigues of France. At the close of the century, her alliance against England in the Napoleonic wars lost her the remnants of her once powerful fleet, and she had to bear the ignominy of seeing Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne.

Since the era of the Bourbon restoration, Spain's colonies in America liberated themselves from her fifteenth-century yoke and threw off the infamous rule of low-class despots, thieves, and robbers. At home, the

nation has been convulsed by dynastic and civil strife, and she has now shrunk to a shadow of her former greatness. The torpor and feebleness into which the nation has of late fallen have had a corresponding effect on the population as well as on the industries and commerce of the country. Not only have her people failed to advance in numbers, but they have become slothful and increasingly illiterate. Economically, the situation is equally depressing, for Spain, as it has been said, is a nation which should advance but does not. Her trade fails to expand, for other countries reap the chief commerce of her colonies and of her former American possessions. From want of cultivation, due partly to idleness and partly to the heavy drain of conscription, large tracts of the country have reverted to a state of nature. With poor and inadequate tillage; added to a grinding taxation, has come poverty in the midst of nature's bounty. Nor is the outlook, financially, more hopeful, for her colonies have ever been draining her life-blood, and her exchequer is creditless and empty. What revenues she is still in receipt of, the nation is little nourished by, so great are the greed and rascality of her rulers.

Yet at times Spain has given hope of better things. Among her subjects have been a few honest as well as liberal-minded statesmen who sought to rule wisely and to give effect to modern ideas. But such voices, where they were not stilled by assassination, were stifled in the throes of dynastic conspiracy and the upheaval of civil war. Of parliamentary government Spain has only the form, since political training and the inde-

pendent burgher spirit are unknown to the people. Politics are thus the game "of a set of adventurers, soldiers, lawyers or journalists, at whose struggles for place and pelf the nation looks on as at a bullfight, paying to the successful competitor of the hour the abject submission which it has been for ages accustomed to pay to power."

In this absence of elevating and helpful political and communal life, what wonder that the nation has not known how to govern or rear independent colonies! With little political liberty or healthful civic life at home, she could not be expected to foster the spirit of self-government abroad. Hence the barbarities and despotism of her rule in her dependencies, where the rights of human nature in her subject peoples have been persistently and wantonly outraged. The one function which these colonists were called upon to exercise—indeed, their only duty in relation to the government—was to submit to the exactions of extortionate captains-general, and to acquiesce in the drains made upon their industry and labor. The end of such misrule could only be rebellion. Nor could loyalty to the motherland coexist with hate for the common bandits, in the guise of authority, who locally misgoverned and haughtily despised and trampled upon the people.

Nor is the want of equitable and intelligent administration in Spain itself a less crying evil. True, there are a few patriots who recognize and deplore the degeneracy in governing, but only disaster has followed the efforts to stay the plague of corruption and malfeasance in office and supplant them with some ade-

quate measures of drastic reform. Hence the lack of any real governing class in Spain, and in the intervals of ephemeral governments the rule only of the "brigand and masquerading as a soldier." Nevertheless there is surely some saving remnant in the nation desirous of restoring the virtues of the race and willing and able, even in these degenerate days, to contend successfully against its vices. It cannot be that the Spanish character is utterly and hopelessly bad. Whatever deterioration it has suffered only rank pessimism would deny its power of wholesome and effective recovery. And yet the evidences accumulate to show that Spain is still a mediæval, and not a modern, nation. The gloom of superstition and monachism is still over the country, and the minds of the people, are, to a large extent, still fettered and unenlightened.

But it is time to let the author be heard, and in the remaining space devoted to the introduction we give place to Professor Harrison's prefatory abstract of the history of Ancient Spain.

G. M. A.

---

Celts, Iberians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Suevi, Vandals, and Arabs have all left traces of themselves in Spain. Strabo\* tells us nearly all that we know of ancient Spain before and after the Roman conquest. According to him the Iberians seem to have been the primitive inhabitants of the country, whose eastern part they occupied. The Celts, the

\**Hispania*, 3, 136-176, *et al.*

"men of the forests," at an uncertain date invaded the domain of these "men of the river" (Iberi, Ebro). Long struggles ensued, which ended in a final reconciliation and a mingling of the two races in the *Celtiberian* nation. The Iberian element however seems to have preponderated, though the Celts, as usual, gave their names to many places. It is believed with some show of truth that the modern Basques, and their as yet unclassified language, are descendants of the Iberians. The Celtic tribes seem to have embraced the Cantabrians, Asturians, Vascones, Galicians, and Lusitanians. The Iberians were more numerous, and extended from Gibraltar through parts of Andalusia, Valencia, Murcia, and Aragon, to the Pyrenees. The blended race of *Celtiberians* dwelt in the centre of the peninsula, on the border-land between the two nations.

As, however, the whole subject is one swarming with uncertainties, surmises, doubtful passages in ancient writers, and conclusions drawn by Diodorus and Strabo from a state of things prevailing in the peninsula after the Phenician, Carthaginian, and Roman conquests had passed over the land, it will be best at once to avoid confusing the reader by reference to unproved statements, and to approach a period when the light is not quite so faint.

The Phenician navigators seem to have been attracted by the beauty and wealth of the coast, where they formed settlements here and there. The legendary Tyrian Hercules founded Cadiz. The rich metalliferous basin of the Guadalquivir seems to have had an early attraction for them, and a temple of Hercules erected on the Isle of Santi Petri, is said to have signalized one of their settlements. The founding of

Cadiz, Malaga, Cordova, Seville, and many other important towns was attributed to them, and "Hercules" has been well called the collective name under which a grateful after-generation incarnated the most illustrious of these far-away Phenician navigators who braved unknown seas in their great exploring expeditions and left cities behind them as monuments of their presence.

The Rhodian Greeks founded a colony in Catalonia about 900 B. C., and are thought to have settled the Balearic Isles; the Zantiotes and Phocaeans have connected their names traditionally with Saguntum and Emporion as the Phocaeans did with Marseilles; and Greek names are found in the southwest and north of Spain. The worship of Diana more especially was a legendary accompaniment of these migrations and settlements.

The real history of Carthaginian Spain, apart from the restlessness of a purely speculative school of history eager to theorize where there are no facts, begins three centuries before Christ, with the arrival of the Barca faction in Baetica (Andalusia). Three hundred years before, the wealth of Cadiz having excited the envy of the aborigines, its Phenician citizens, to protect themselves, called in the aid of Carthage and the Numidians, who soon overran much of the country and made it a dependency of the great south Mediterranean city.

In 237 B. C. Hamilcar Barca landed at Cadiz with a large army, after having conquered the whole African coast as far as the ocean. In nine years he had overcome the west and south of Spain, but the confederated chiefs of the Vettones succeeded in defeating him,

and he was drowned in the passage of the Guadiana. Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, with a rare union of vigor and humanity, soon greatly extended the dominion of the Carthaginians with his fifty-six thousand men and two hundred elephants. He built the city of Carthage Nova (Carthagera), which became a great commercial, maritime, and military outpost, full of fortifications and arsenals. The frightened Greek colonies implored the aid of the Roman senate against the Carthaginian power; a treaty stipulated the independence of these colonies and fixed a limit to the growing Carthaginian empire; but Hasdrubal, feeling himself strong in the affections of the people and finding himself firmly entrenched at Carthagera, resolved to break the treaty, and would have done so, had not the dagger of an assassin put an end to his life.

Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, a young man of twenty-five, was chosen by the army to succeed Hasdrubal; and now he saw a chance to show at last the eternal hate which his father had made him swear against the Romans. The admirable portrait left by Livy\* is a pregnant individualization of one of the great men of antiquity. In the same lucid and impassioned pages the memorable story of the siege of Saguntum,† the ally and funeral offering of Rome to the vengeance of the Carthaginians, still glows with eloquence after the lapse of twenty centuries. A cry of grief reverberated through antiquity and found an echo in many historians over this perfidious immolation of a devoted friend on the part of Rome; "*Dum Romae consulitur, Saguntum expugnatur*," was the scathing proverb that

\* Liv. lib. 21, 22, 23, 24 *et seq.*

† Ibid, 21 *et seq.*

embalmed the memory of this humiliating incident at Rome.

The great struggle between Rome and Carthage had now begun. During the second Punic war, in 218, Cneius Scipio came over to Spain, and soon got possession of the eastern coast from Carthagera to the Pyrenees; but in 211 he perished, having been preceded by his brother Publius, who underwent the same fate, together with his army. In the brilliant and moving pages of Plutarch, their successor, Publius Cornelius Scipio (210), is seen landing in Spain with eleven thousand men, capturing Carthagera, with immense booty, gaining all hearts by his politic magnanimity, conquering Cadiz, founding Italica near Seville, and dividing the country into two great provinces, Hither and Further Spain. Cato was sent thither as consul in 195, and that system of minute and merciless plundering was inaugurated by which Spain, the first and richest of all the great Roman colonies, was transformed into the market-garden of Rome.

The splendid revolt of Viriatus, the shepherd-chief-tain of the Lusitanians, who for more than eight years (140-148) defied the whole power of Rome, showed, even more than the innumerable rebellions and outbreaks from decade to decade, how difficult it was to break the free and spirited population to a foreign yoke. Numantia, equally a Celtiberian city, resisted with the energy of despair the encroachments of Rome, and only fell before sixty thousand men and Scipio Æmilianus, another of that remarkable family whose names are so gloriously and dismally connected with the subjugation of Spain. Saguntum, Numantia, and

Saragossa — three sieges of world-wide celebrity — testify of that impassioned strength and fortitude which, in religion as in war, two thousand years ago as now, have always formed the foundation of the Spanish character.

The revolt of Sertorius, a Roman exile dreaming of independent sovereignty in Spain, occurred twenty years after the siege of Numantia and was crushed by Pompey and Metellus after eight years of furious and difficult encounter (71). His portrait hangs in that beautiful gallery which Plutarch\* has so richly hung with discrowned kings, disappointed ambitions, noble and desperate enterprises, and the pathos of useless death and failure.

The most remarkable of all the quarrels espoused by the Peninsula was that of Pompey and Cæsar. Cæsar triumphed, and has left a record of the contest in his inimitable commentaries.† Under Augustus, Spain was declared a perpetual tributary of the empire and for the first time, after two hundred years of sanguinary combat, the dominion of Rome showed itself beneficent and tolerable. A regular administration was introduced; the country, to facilitate its control and organization, was divided into three provinces (Baetica, Tarraconensis, and Lusitania); wise and humane laws were established, protecting the inhabitants; magnificent roads, bridges, and aqueducts were built; and grateful altars smoked in honor of the father and liberator of Spain.

*Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, said Tacitus,

\* Plut. II. 277-300.

† Cæs. Bell. Hispaniense. De Bello Civili.

painting with a characteristic stroke the policy of most of the Roman conquerors. Tiberius, to whom altars burned and whom medals immortalized, exemplified in Spain the epigram of the great historian. Caligula, Nero, Galba, and Otho, caressed or spurned the peninsula according to the needs of the moment. Under Vespasian the persecution of the Jews broke out, and a colony of the wretched exiles was planted in Spain and settled at Merida : the fountain of that swarming race which afterward filled the history of the country with their intrigues, miseries, and oppressions.

Trajan and Hadrian were both Spaniards, born at Italica, and were both loved and honored by the people for the well-being and tranquillity enjoyed by the land under their vigorous but appreciative administration. Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius (sprung from a noble Spanish family sojourning at Rome) gave Spain the happiness that needed no history ; and under them it reached the culminating point, after which there is a continual decline. A band of Suevi crossed the Pyrenees in 270 A. D. and ravaged the provinces for some time. The reigns of Diocletian and Constantine were important to Spain, more particularly from a religious point of view. Crushed by imposts, stripped of its communal rights, devoured by the thousand fiscal agents of the new Rome of the Bosphorus, its social system dissolved, its magistrates became almost universally corrupt, and it took refuge, as a last resource, in the arms of the clergy.

Christianity seems to have penetrated into Spain about the time of Nero. The Spaniards attribute its introduction to Saint James the greater (Santiago).

Originally persecuted by the polytheists, the new religion increased step by step until it took its seat on the imperial throne in the person of Constantine. The council of Illiberis in Spain, held about 306, is claimed to be the earliest great western church council on record, and here were fixed, after the fashion of an austere orthodoxy, the rites, ceremonies, and dogmas of the Spanish church, nearly a quarter of a century before the council of Nice (325). Constantine had divided Spain into seven provinces (Lusitania, Baetica, Galicia, Carthaginiensis, Tarraconensis, the Balearic Isles, and Tingitania on the African coast), and with these the ecclesiastical provinces corresponded. The bishops dwelling in the capitals of these provinces — Merida, Seville, Bracara, Carthagera, Saragossa, Palma, and Tangier — took the name of *metropolitans*. Of these the metropolitan of Toledo, — substituted for Carthagera, — owing to the fact that the celebrated parliament-councils were held there, gradually assumed the pre-eminence, and at length acquired the primacy of Spain. The heresies of Arianism and Priscillianism — the former introduced by the Gothic conquest, the latter by an eloquent and voluptuous Spanish priest — agitated the country until Priscillian was put to death (384) and the Goths embraced Catholicism under Recared.

Constantine initiated a uniform administration for his whole vast empire. Spain and Gaul formed one of the four divisions into which the immense agglomeration fell. The twenty-five military colonies, formed of citizens and soldiers who enjoyed on foreign soil all the rights of the mother country, kept Spain in sub-

jection during the imperial period ; forty-nine *municipia*, with privilege of self-government, came next in order among the graduated cities ; then the cities of the *Latin law*, peopled by families from Latium, who, without the right of Roman citizenship, could acquire this right after they had held certain magistracies ; then the six free cities (*immunes*), having their own laws and magistrates, and exempt from the usual imperial burdens ; and, last, the allied cities, and the tributary cities (*stipendiariae*), which were heavily burdened with the task of feeding Rome and furnishing supplies for carrying on the government. A throng of petty communal republics however, soon arose, — always a characteristic feature of Spanish administrative life, — and, by paying the regular imposts, were left free to govern themselves. Under Antoninus all the subjects of the empire were proclaimed Roman citizens.

Elegant vestiges of antiquity, chiefly utilitarian, still show the blossoming of art in Spain under the empire. The ruins of the palace of Augustus at Tarragona ; the arch of Bara raised by Trajan ; the splendid bridge of Alcantara, believed by the Arabs to have been raised by the genies ; the less celebrated bridges of Evora, Calatrava, and Salamanca ; the aqueducts of Seville, Tarragona, and Evora, and the stupendous aqueduct-bridge one hundred feet high at Segovia ; the wonderfully preserved theatre of Saguntum ; the famous mosaic of Italica ; and the baths, porticoes, and ruins of many sorts, attest the grandeur of the Roman civilization. The country was furrowed by unequalled roads, some of which still exist. Spain, even to-day, is

full of reminiscences of the grandiose scenic displays of ancient times, combats of gladiators, chariot-races, gymnasiums, amphitheatres, bull-fights ; and we are told of Diocles, the Lusitanian charioteer, who was victorious two thousand five hundred and twenty-six times in the races.

A noble literary efflorescence revived in Spain the ~~waning lustre of Roman intellectual~~ life. Cicero's fastidious ear might revolt at the thick accent of the Cordovan Latin, but posterity can but do honor to the illustrious works of Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Quintilian, Pomponius Mela, Silius Italicus, Florus, and Columella. Many of these may, as a critic suggests, contain the germs of that affectation which is so perfectly revealed in the modern term *concetti*—a quaint, prankish, epigrammatic, whimsically brilliant elaboration of thought and imagery into dainty pictures, like a carving on an antique gem, unknown to the simple and frank elegance of the writers of the Golden Age ; but in this there is nothing to notice except the inevitable transition from ancient to modern life, nothing to regret save that our libraries are too scantily supplied with the musical cadences, the *lascivæ paginae*, of the *Poetæ minores*.

# SPAIN IN HISTORY

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## CHAPTER I.

### SPAIN UNDER THE VISIGOTHS (WEST GOTHS).

THE history of the Visigoths, before their separation from the Ostrogoths, is involved in obscurity. Divided into a multitude of groups, each ruled by its own petty chief, we find them about A. D. 350, acknowledging the overlordship of the East-Gothic king Ermanaric, of the house of the Amali, though a hundred years before they had become virtually independent of the Ostrogothic king.

Athanaric (A. D. 366-381) is the first well authenticated ruler of most of these multitudinous groups; and as he succeeded his father Rothestes in the same position, we get a glimpse of a state of things closely approximating an hereditary rulership. We find him fighting vigorously against Frithigern, another great chieftain; and a few years later the attack of the Huns takes place—a horde of Mongol barbarians, who, sweeping down from their Asiatic habitations, gave the finishing blow to the tottering Roman Empire, by forcing over its frontiers that source of all its miseries—the scarcely more civilized Germans. For three hundred years these fierce, blond-haired, ruddy-cheeked

savages had lingered on the outskirts of the empire, along the lower Danube, menacing it with destruction; and now fleeing in terror before the Huns, they crossed the Danube and sought the protection of the huge organization over which the Emperor Valens ruled.

It is a picturesque glimpse that we first get of the Huns, swimming their horses by moonlight over the Dniester, outwitting Athanaric, and sending a tremor through the whole reverberating empire. The Visigoths saw their only salvation from Rome: accordingly, in 376 more than two hundred thousand fighters crossed the Danube, and being assigned to Thrace, as a habitation, were constituted by Valens a bulwark against the formidable Huns.

The Romans, who hated and dreaded the countless starvelings who had now taken up their abode within the empire, exercised their rapacious tendencies by wringing from them all they possessed, even their wives, children, and slaves. Their situation soon became intolerable, and bloody outbursts followed, in which Frithigern, taking the lead, and assisted by Goths, Huns, Alans — fugitives, mountaineers, revolutionists of every color — succeeded in annihilating Valens and the Roman army, at the great battle of Adrianople in 378 — “a second Cannae,” looked upon as a punishment for the Arianism of the emperor.

Athanaric mysteriously withdrew, as it appears, and left behind the commanding figure of Frithigern to arrange with Theodosius the Great a basis upon which these antagonistic nationalities could live together. His death in 379–80 left the Visigoths again under the control of Athanaric, who concluded with Theodosius



70 1000  
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peace and alliance — the Goths were now called *foederati* — was treated by the emperor with extraordinary honors, and at his death, we are naïvely informed, was distinguished by a royal funeral and a mortuary column.

The former hostile attitude of Athanaric and his Visigoths had suddenly given way before a consciousness of the superior culture and civilization of the Romans; instead of combating, they now sought Roman supremacy, and in return for peace and protection began to acknowledge the obligation to bear arms in defence of their protectors. "The emperor was God upon earth," said Athanaric, "and he who resisted him would have his blood on his own head."

Remaining for a time leaderless, a vast and loosely-organized confederation governed by counts, dukes, and chieftains, the Goths suddenly crystalized around the heroic person of Alaric the Balth, who summed up in himself all that the Goths held dearest, — unbounded freedom, courage, — that is the meaning of Balth, — and splendid military gifts. Born about 370-75, of noble Visigothic blood, his name soon became enclustered by legends and enveloped in a maze of fiction.

The death of Theodosius, "the friend of the Gothic nation," left his successor in a peculiarly difficult position. The "Scythians" — the "sheepskin-wearing savages," as the Goths were called, — regarded with hate, fear, and contempt by their allies, treated with violence and injustice at every point, egged to desperation by political and race antipathies — lay like a huge thunder-cloud along the Thracian settlements, waiting the moment and the man under whose influence they should

redress their long-smouldering wrongs and recover their independence. Both were found in Alaric soon after the death of Theodosius.

"Peace with walls," cried he, as, avoiding fortified places, his clouds of rugged Teutons swept down through the flat lands of the neighboring provinces, overran Macedonia, Thessaly, Arcadia, Illyria, to the heart of Greece and Peloponnesus. Escaping from Stilicho, the general of Honorius, Emperor of the West, probably by the treachery of his opponent, Alaric hurried to Byzantium, armed his people out of the imperial magazines, watched, manipulated, menaced both empires, and at length, allured by the opulence of the Western Empire, broke into Italy in the year 400. There is a striking legend that the king was driven incessantly and against his will, by demoniac force, against Rome. "Rumpe omnes, Alarice, *moras*," whispered the tempter in the verses of Claudian; and we are told that Rome trembled and strengthened her ancient walls. Receiving a check from Stilicho at Pollentia, in 402, he escaped again into Illyria. Roman exultation over the corpses that covered the field of Pollentia was of short duration, for Alaric in 408, again penetrated into Italy, advanced to the very gates of Rome, and at first demanding all the gold and silver in the town, together with the liberation of all slaves of "barbarian" blood, went off to Tuscany content, with five thousand pounds of gold, thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand silken and three thousand purple garments, and three thousand pounds of spices. The wretched Honorius, the "Christipotens Juvenis" of Prudentius, lay walled up in Ravenna, helpless and humiliated.

Restlessly seeking a settlement south of the Alps, somewhere in the beautiful plains of Italy, and as continually thwarted by Honorius, the warlike Balth, scorning the insults of the Romans, — “learn the fear of Rome, idiotic world of barbarians!” — again marched to Rome and forced the senate, by threats of storming or starvation, to depose Honorius and elevate Attalus to the imperial throne. It is probable that Alaric did not have himself proclaimed emperor because of the gulf existing between the two nationalities, their fundamental differences of conception and polity, and from the fact that as king of the Germans he had the power to command a free people, which, as emperor of the Romans, he would have lost. A genuine German king needed no confirmation of his right to rule his people; he was no “barbarian adventurer, clad in Roman purple,” ascending from dignity to dignity till he had attained the highest. Alaric, therefore, was guilty of no act of renunciation in avoiding the throne. He followed an ancient German custom, in preferring lawful rule over his own people to dangerous usurpation of the rights of others.

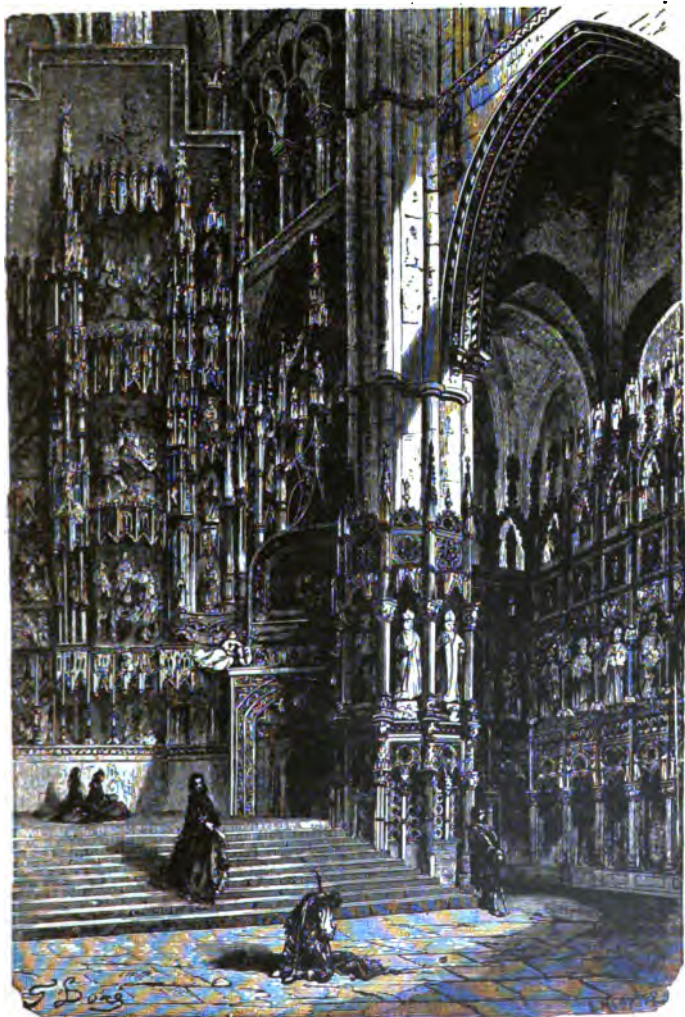
Finding Ravenna not to be taken, Alaric sacked Rome, though not so frightfully as the rhetoricians of his and later days are fond of representing to us. “*Cum Romanis gessi bellum, non cum apostolis Dei*,” is the legend that characterizes Alaric’s conduct during the great event. Passing south into Campania, on his way to Africa, — the granary of Rome and Italy, — his ships were scattered by a storm in the strait of Messina. According to the legend of Olympiodorus, a statue prevented the barbarian from crossing to Sicily, “the

ancient bridge between Italy and Africa ;" and we have stories of flying Romans pursued from island to island by Goths on swimming horses.

In the prime of life Alaric died, — the only invader since Hannibal who had penetrated so far south,—and was buried after ancient Germanic custom — witness the singularly beautiful "Passing of Scyld" in the great Anglo-Saxon poem \* — in the waves. He was succeeded by his wife's brother, Athaulf (410-415), who, passing with his followers from Italy to Gaul, overran a part of that country in the south, married Placidia, the captive sister of Honorius, held by him as a hostage, and attempted a reconciliation with the emperor of the west. Famine forced him to seek relief by passing the Pyrenees into Spain, where he occupied Barcelona. The pathetic hungering for a home, which accompanies all these ceaseless migrations of the early Germans, seemed now on the point of being gratified. But the death of Athaulf and the murder of his successor, the usurper Sigric, a week after (415), for a moment thwarted this now rooted determination.

Wallia (415-419), who was related to neither of the preceding kings, was elected to succeed Sigric, and after attempting to rid Spain, in the interests of the emperor, of the barbarian vermin with which it swarmed, — Suevi, Alani, and Vandals, — passed over into the Roman province of Aquitania Secunda (418), on the other side of the Pyrenees, and received by treaty with Rome the magnificent river country of the Garonne, from Toulouse to the ocean. Populous cities abounded in this voluptuous region, — Bordeaux, Agen, Angoulême, Poitiers, and Toulouse, — and at last there

\* Heyne, *Beovulf*, i. 20-52.



INTERIOR OF TOLEDO CATHEDRAL.

THE NEW  
AMERICAN

seemed a resting-place found for this wandering race. The "luxurious land of the golden Garonne," the "pearl of Gaul," as it was called, — an inimitable domain, which was a tangled wilderness of wine, and burnished harvest-fields, and orchards, where glad songs were chanted under the myrtles and plane trees, sparkling fountains bedewed the gardens, and gliding rivers multiplied the fertility of the soil infinitely, — became the possession of the Visigoths for nearly a century ; and here was founded that kingdom of Toulouse (419–507), which formed the stepping-stone between Frankish Gaul and the great Visigothic monarchy in the Iberian peninsula.

Wallia died in the first year after the return from Spain (419), and was followed by Theoderic I. (419–451), who was elected by popular choice, as was usual with the Germanic nations, and had no family relationship with his predecessor.

It was during this reign that the movement of Attila, king of the Huns, against the western empire, took place, and that the efforts of "the scourge of God" to separate Romans and Visigoths, or play these races skilfully against each other for his own purposes, were brought to overwhelming defeat at Châlons (451), by Aetius, the Roman general, and the aged Theoderic. The latter died, fighting gloriously on the field of battle.

Thorismund, his eldest (?) son, was raised by popular acclaim on the spot to succeed his father ; but he was shortly afterward murdered by his brothers, Theoderic and Fridric (453). Theoderic II. reigned from 453 to 466, when he "paid as he deserved," in the simple

verdict of the historian. He fell a victim to the ambition of his brilliant and powerful brother, Euric, whose eighteen years' reign greatly extended the Gothic power in Gaul and Spain, who cast off the supremacy of Rome, and lifted the people from a feeble to a commanding position by his bold, shrewd, and inflexible policy. An admirable statesman as well as an intrepid conqueror, he knew how to draw profit from pre-existing relations with Rome, from the cultivated provincial Roman nobility, from Celts and Suevi. He ravaged the plains of the south of France so terribly that, the stags came to wander in herds through the streets of Vienne, while the Roman aristocracy of the country resolved, in case of extremity, to emigrate or to enter the ministry, — "to leave their homes or their hair," as Apollinaris Sidonius quaintly expressed it.

Euric's efforts were crowned with success, and soon the Goths held the whole domain bounded by the two seas, the Rhone, and the Garonne. In 461 there was no longer any Roman army in Spain to oppose the complete disintegration of that vast Roman province; gradually all the larger towns had been taken from the Suevi and the Roman provincials, until soon the Goths occupied the entire peninsula with the exception of a narrow strip in the extreme northwest, where the Suevi maintained themselves among the inaccessible sierras of Galicia.

Euric became so powerful that it is said his palace swarmed with ambassadors from the Saxons, Franks, Heruli, Burgundians, Romans, and Persians, seeking his alliance. He was the mightiest prince of the Occident, and his name "struck terror into the hearts of the

people beyond the sea." The western empire was at its last gasp, and the Ostrogoths and Franks had not yet risen to importance upon its ruins. An enthusiastic Arian, like most of his race, the "word Catholic distorted his face and heart like vinegar," says a Roman rhetorician of Euric ; hence the obstinate and dangerous opposition of the Catholic bishops which threatened his life and ended in the destruction of his great work of conquest, consolidation, and reform. He died in his bed in 485, happily before the treason of the Catholic clergy, and the sympathy of the Catholic laity, had lost nearly the whole of Gothic Gaul to the Franks, under his son and successor, Alaric II. (485-507).

The Franks, destined of all the German tribes to the noblest future, were now governed by the youthful Clovis, an impersonation, as he has been truly called, of all the national Frankish qualities. He possessed great rapidity of insight, profound knowledge of his enemy's weak points, swiftness in action, and a nerve that quailed before no enormity. A pagan fatalist, he was almost uninterruptedly lucky, heading a numerous and skilfully-trained people, in a country singularly well situated for the foundation of a great empire : yet a Catholic, gathering about him an unexampled force of natural and national, political and ecclesiastical advantages, neither the effeminate civilization of the south, nor the heathen and Arians in the east and west, could avail against his vigor. Besides this, all Gaul longed to get rid of the Goths. Clovis proclaimed a religious war against the heretics who dared to believe in one Uncreate Spirit and not in three, and with a rare mix-

ture of fanaticism and shrewdness, superstition and self-trust, deceit and conviction, managed to identify the victory of his nation with the cause of religion in a manner psychologically most interesting. He crushed and slew Alaric, after having sent to the grave of Saint Martin of Tours, to obtain some hint of the issue of the war. His messengers were told to give heed to the psalms that should be sung in their visit to the church, and lo ! they turned out to be Psalms xvii. 39-40, and xviii. 40-41 : "Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies ; that I might destroy them that hate me."

Armed with this evidence of the smile of Providence, Clovis marched to victory, enveloped in a cloud of miraculous accompaniments ; a hind, dispatched by one of the saints, showed him the ford over the swollen Vienne ; a pillar of fire flashed welcome from the pinnacle of the Cathedral of Poitiers, as he moved onward.

Thus the fate of the Visigothic empire in Gaul was decided by a single battle. Internal dissension, the lack of an hereditary succession to the throne, by which a great empire could have been concentrated and supplied with means against a day of trial, the frantic hostility of the Catholic population to their heterodox tyrants, and a loose and rotten organization of the entire military and political despotism, did the rest. The bastard Gesalic, son of Alaric, disputed the succession with his half-brother, Amalaric, while the adherents of the latter, accompanied by the five-year-old king himself, and, according to the legend, by the jewels of Solomon from the temple of Jerusalem, fled pell-mell

over the Pyrenees, and found a refuge in the fortified city of Carcassonne.

The Frankish successes, however, were soon stemmed by the victorious arms of Theoderic the Great — the greatest of all the Gothic kings — who, warmly espousing the cause of his grandson, Amalaric, rapidly overran the south of France, and snatched it from the Franks. He soon, however, abandoned these conquests to his enemy, whose death in 511 relieved the Goths of a dreaded antagonist. Theoderic united \* the East and West Goths, remaining as long as he lived the guardian of the Visigothic kingdom. His death in 526 left Amalaric sovereign of the now fully independent kingdom of the Visigoths, though he ceded to the Ostrogoths nearly all of the Gallic possessions of his race, and constituted the Rhone the boundary line between the kindred, but severed nationalities.

Amalaric's death left the throne open to the Ostrogothic usurper, Theudis (531–548), who resided in the strong frontier fortress of Barcelona, in order to be near the Franks, who ceaselessly strove for possession of the whole of France as well as for the expulsion of the heretics over the Pyrenees.

Murdered at Seville, after vain attempts to drive out the Byzantine garrison of Justinian from Africa, he was succeeded by his general, Theudigisel who, reigning ingloriously for seventeen months (548–549), was stabbed to death at a nocturnal banquet in Seville when the lights were suddenly extinguished.

The Goths were a nation of regicides, and it was well said of them, that they had the "abominable habit

\* E. A. Freeman, *Goths, Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition.

of assassinating any king they did not like," and installing another in his place. The historian Marina wrote, that of the thirty-two Gothic kings, eight were usurpers, four were deprived of the crown, and eight were assassinated, among whom two were fratricides; in all, twenty crimes out of thirty-two accessions. The lack of a vigorous hereditary ruler led to misdeeds, despotic violence and caprice, and perpetual revolution.

In the reign of Agila (549-554), Theudigisel's successor Athanagild, his opponent, committed the memorable misstep of inviting Justinian to help him against the king. Byzantine garrisons, therefore, soon mastered and held for nearly seventy years, most of the Mediterranean seaports and fortresses, from Lucruna to the "Holy Cape," in the Atlantic Ocean, and were welcomed with delight by the Catholic and Anti-Gothic party. Agila expiated by his blood the feebleness of an unlucky and ignominious reign, and Athanagild, a Gothic noble of influence, was recognized (554-567) in his stead.

The position of Athanagild was the more perilous, as, besides the presence of the Greek "patricians," who galled his flanks and girdled his realm to the east and south, the Suevi now adopted the Catholic confession and united with Greeks and Merwings to make common cause against the Visigothic interlopers. But he died before his apprehensions from these sources were realized.

After an interregnum of five months, Duke Leova I. was elevated to the vacant dignity by the Gallic province, and, associating his younger brother Leovigild with him in the government, averted the outbreak of a

civil war. His death in 572 permitted Leovigild to bind together again the severed fragments of the North and South Pyrenean provinces, threatened with dissolution.

For a moment, amid this throng of kings, our eye is permitted to linger upon a real hero — a rugged, uncouth, immitigable barbarian, who quelled, as by magic, the ever-fermenting insurrectionary spirit around him, crushed pitilessly the ever-lurking and insidious plots of Greeks, Franks, Catholics, and Romans, and, without abjuring his rooted Arianism, restored the prestige of the state, and ruthlessly chastised the turbulent nobles. "He slew all those who had got the habit of murdering kings," says the chronicler, Gregory; he gathered treasure by wholesale confiscation and increased taxation; and he was the first of the Gothic kings who dressed in royal purple and sat on a throne. Under him, Toledo became the permanent residence of the kings. He corrected and added to the system of legislation emanating from Euric and Alaric, and he attempted to introduce the hereditary principle, by causing the two sons of his first marriage, Hermenigild, and Recared, to be recognized as his associates in the government.

The conversion of Hermenigild to Catholicism by means of his Frankish wife, Ingunthis, who was also his step-niece, lighted the flames of civil war anew in the kingdom. Leovigild was, originally, by no means an enemy to Catholicism; but the course of his son, and the eternal intrigues of his Catholic subjects, drove him almost to madness. Hermenigild conspired against his father, was beaten in battle and captured, and

though assured by his father of his personal safety was put to death in 585 — less, it would seem, for the coarse criminality of his conduct than as an heroic remedy for healing the dissensions of the kingdom and delivering it over intact into the hands of the Arian Recared. For, from a conflict of confessions, it had become a conflict of races. Goths and Romans contended desperately for preponderance, and it was only through the infinite tact and patience of Leovigild, aided by a salutary recognition on the part of the nation of his inexorable force, that the complex organization held together at all.

The downfall of the Suevian kingdom (583–584) in the northwest, — a stormy neighbor, always awake to every disadvantage and disaster that befell the Goths, — and its incorporation into the kingdom, left Leovigild virtually master of the peninsula. The last king of the Suevi vanished in a cloister.

Of the Suevi prior to their migration with the Vandals and Allemans or Alans to Spain, in 409, we know absolutely nothing. For many years the peninsula lay helpless before their depredations, and their power was enabled to maintain itself for nearly two centuries, owing to the impregnable cliffs and gorges amid which it lived and thrived. Wretched Hispania, between these two Germanic peoples — Goths and Suevi — was indeed “ground to pieces as between two millstones.” “The dim twilight of church legends” hangs around the miracle-accompanied conversion of the Suevi to Catholicism, in 560. The final amalgamation of Suevi and Goths under Leovigild in 585, obliterated forever all lines of distinction between the rival establishments,

though it has been suggested that the noticeable differences between Portuguese and Spaniard may have arisen from the fact that ancient Lusitania was the abode of the Suevi, while the Goths spread themselves over the rest of the kingdom. As late as Philip II.'s day, *Suevosos*, *los sevosos*, is said to have been a nickname given by the Castilians to the Portuguese.

At the instance of Philip II., the great saint-monger, who even asked that the Cid might be nixed among the beatified saints, Hermenigild was enrolled among the noble army of martyrs.

Leovigild died at Toledo in 586, in the midst of negotiations for peace with the Merwings — "the glory of his heroism darkened," says the pious Isidore, "by the error of his misbelief."

He was the last of the antique type of Arian Goths, and he battled in the old Gothic way against the old immemorial perils. Catholicism; a sanguinary nobility "chain-mailed in complicated intrigue;" and continual perils from within, were met by him with wonderful sagacity, vanquished, temporarily at least, and set at rest, for the time being. In the next reign, Catholicism is in the ascendant, the Arians are the persecuted, and a homogeneous Spain, henceforth to be ruled by the ecclesiastical parliaments of Toledo, and going slowly to pieces under that rule, becomes ripe and rotten, through every manner of moral corruption, for the Berber conquest. And out of this is to rise the evolution of that beautiful Castilian chivalry, whose achievements, for seven hundred years, rang in the ears of the civilized world, and evoked a matchless minstrelsy precious to the hearts of all lovers of poetry.

The one hundred and fifteen years from the conversion of the Goths to Catholicism, to their utter downfall before the Arabs, form a period crowded with events. Recared I. (586-601), Leovigild's son and successor, whether yielding to the superior organization of the church of Rome, its intellectual superiority and culture, its unexampled consistency, amid the shifting phases and time-serving spirit of Arianism ; or whether, — despite his witnessing, and silently approving, the martyrdom of his sainted brother, Hermenigild, — a sincere convert to the eloquence and astuteness of the Catholic prelates, — Recared, at length gave way to a faith which was now triumphant in Italy, Gaul, and the Orient, and declared himself, in 586, "moved by heavenly and earthly motives," to adopt Catholicism.

## CHAPTER II.

### SPAIN UNDER THE VISIGOTHS (CONTINUED).

THE "earthly reasons" doubtless preponderated, and circumstances compelled Recared to fly into the arms of the Holy Church, as a protection against his own nobles, and the misery of an eternal wrangle with the rebellious common people. The wealth, moral influence, education, system of the Catholic clergy, alone seemed able to save him from his inner and outer enemies, and to assist him to cope with the difficulties of his situation. The flattery of these hallucinations—the salvation of himself and his people within the pale of an inexorable machine—proved the ruin of the Visigothic monarchy. Henceforth it lost its independence, became a chattel of the councils of Toledo, and the horrified barbarians had to witness the spectacle of a king, crawling on his knees, and blubbering penitentially before the despotic metropolitan of the capital.

Multitudes, both of the common people and the Gothic grandees, followed the royal example, though a total conversion took place only in the gradual progress of time. Fierce persecution of the Ariáns immediately ensued; they were to be excluded from all civil and military employments, to be exterminated root and

branch, and their books — if necessary, themselves — to be burned.

After the overthrow of his Arian step-mother, Godiswintha (who had formed a league with the Franks for the destruction of her second step-son), and the repulse of the Frankish attack in Septimania, with loss of sixty thousand Franks to three hundred Goths (?), Recared lived in tolerable peace with his people, though frequently harassed by Arian, Basque, and Byzantine inroads. He modified the Gothic state usages extensively, assumed at his solemn coronation the title "*Flavius*," reorganized the internal policy of the kingdom, and by his strict alliance of church with state, against the lay nobility, and the reconciliation between Goths and Romans, which he accomplished, did much to ameliorate and tranquillize the condition of his people. The Gothic was not a tranquil civilization; it was tempestuous, lawless, insubordinate — the prey of passionate religious beliefs, the plaything of any vivid-minded and ambitious leader. Hence the necessity of some universally recognized principle of authority, — a principle happily, as Recared thought, discovered in the Church of Rome.

It followed logically, from Recared's point of view, that the third council of Toledo, composed of sixty-two bishops, led by the polished Leander of Seville and Mausona of Merida (589), should become actually an imperial parliament as well as a ghostly convention. And here, for the first time, was acknowledged the supremacy of the church not only over the spiritual and secular aristocracy, but over the crown itself. Goths and Romans blended harmoniously together after

the religious breach between them had been filled up. A Romanization of the Goths, rather than a Germanization of the Romans, followed from the numerical superiority of the latter, as a matter of course. Though Roman measures and weights had been used in Spain, the Roman reckoning of time had not, but was now first adopted by the Goths. Recared's code of laws for his people became immensely modified by the Roman law; and the Roman-Byzantine titles, mode of administration, attributes, functions, even court etiquette, penetrated more and more into Spain.

We find the king good-humored, affable, a builder of churches and monasteries, the "*pater patriæ*" of a legendary Golden Age. His administration was of singular importance for the whole future of Spain; and though fundamentally different from his father, Recared had a gentle and beneficent genius, whose spirit exerted no less influence than Leovigild's had done. He died in the odor of sanctity, and was followed by his son, Leova II. (601-603).

Leova II. fell a victim to a final rising of the Arians, and being taken prisoner, it is affirmed that his right hand was struck off and he himself slain by Count Witteric, an Arian Goth (603-610). The attempted renaissance of Arianism under this vigorous upstart failed, and he, like Theudigisel, was killed at a banquet (610).

Gunthimar (Gundemar), his successor, a *simulacrum* of a king, who has scarcely cast a shadow across the page of history, reigned till 612, and is chiefly memorable for the huge cluster of unverified traditions that have gathered about his supposed church policy.

The reign of Sisibut, his follower, was distinguished for the final cession by the Byzantines, of all their possessions on the Mediterranean, the sole exception being a small corner of the peninsula on the Atlantic. A whole chain of fortresses and cities thus came into the possession of the Goths (615-616), but there is no proof that this king reconquered in Africa the towns (Tangier and Ceuta) which had been lost under Theudis and are found in possession of Roderic when the Berbers crossed into Spain.

Great mildness, intelligence, and devotion to science and art are attributed to Sisibut; he wrote philosophical works, built the famous church of St. Leocadia at Toledo, distinguished himself by the refinement and subtlety of his rhetoric, wrote a chronicle of the Goths, now lost, and was — “guilty of verses,” hard to pardon even in a king! He was a burning fanatic, and under him began that dismal chain of persecutions of the Jews which links the name of Sisibut, through nearly nine centuries, to that of Ferdinand and Isabella. Political and national motives were of course at the bottom of these persecutions.

Undeniably, the wealth won by the Jews by usury roused the envy and religious passions of their contemporaries. They had been extraordinarily successful in Spain. Apart from this, the church had an interest in the salvation of their souls and — the appropriation, of their money chests. Even before the Gothic conquest, Spain had become celebrated for the passionateness of its spiritual beliefs, and we may well be assured that the present hierarchy did not let the holy fires slumber or go out.

The first notice of the addiction of the Spanish people to the national sport of bull-fighting, seems to occur in this reign, in a letter of rebuke addressed by the pious king to the bishop Eusebius.

Sisibut died in 620, and was succeeded by his son Recared II. (620-621), who reigned for a year. Sisibut's brave general, Swintila (621-631) was chosen to succeed Recared, and won great glory by expelling the last traces of the Byzantines from the kingdom, after they had nested in the sea-ports, and clung to the precipices of the peninsula for seventy years. Sisibut's admirable spirit of conciliation towards the Byzantine intruders, and the threatened invasion of the Eastern empire by the Persians and Avars; had prepared the way for these important acquisitions. He was called the "father of the poor," from his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the serfs, and to keep down the haughty spirit of the church and nobility. Devotedly as the Gothic people loved the principle of free choice in selecting their kings, and opposed as they were constitutionally, to recognizing in any of their clans the right to furnish them with hereditary rulers, they yet permitted Swintila to associate with himself in the government, his son Rikimir, as co-regent and successor. He allowed no councils to assemble during the ten years of his reign, for they might only too eloquently have shown the power of the episcopacy, and have led to renewed troubles. Swintila's character, hence, was systematically blackened by the clergy; he was declared godless, avaricious, and bloodthirsty; wholesale murder and confiscation were attributed to him; and the

affection of the people was undermined and alienated by the insinuations of their agents.

Sisinant, a Gothic count, rose against him in Gaul, was crowned king, and purchased the help of Dagobert of Neustrîa by means of the famous golden basin, weighing five hundred pounds, said to have been extorted by Thorismund, the conqueror of Attila, from the Romans, as compensation for certain booty surrendered. They poured over the Pyrenees with numerous troops, penetrated to Saragossa, and succeeded in stripping Swintila of all his dependants. Sisinant (631) was universally recognized king, and Swintila and his son seem to have gone into a cloister.

Sisinant became the mere tool of the bishops, the restoration of whose power was now complete. The theocratic tinge of the Visigothic monarchy became darker and deeper than ever. Amid floods of tears the king fell on his knees before the fathers at the council of Toledo (633), and supplicated them for their intercession with God.

The characteristic notice of him is that "Sisinant reigned three years, held a council of the bishops, was patient, and followed the orthodox Catholic rules."

This council asserted, more emphatically than ever, the absolute freedom of choice as to rulers, whilst all rebellion against the rightful king, when elected, was menaced with the ban. The bishops controlled, however, the election of the next king, Kindila (636-640) whose "many synods, and great strengthening of the empire through the faith," are concisely commemorated in a couple of lines. Thunders of excommunication were threatened against insurrection, magical practices,

and the setting up of a rival king ; the children of the king were protected by special penalties ; and the person of the king himself was sought to be made inviolable. Every successor was bound henceforth (638) to avenge his predecessor in case of murder, and to free himself from the possible suspicion of guilt, by the thoroughness of this vengeance. The priest-ridden monarch went so far as to say that none but Catholics should live in his kingdom, and by his triumphant orthodoxy won over the bishops to recognize his son Tulga (640-641) as his successor. All the later annals, indeed, of this process of king-manufacture by church councils, are fumigated with incense and resonant with the chant of the *kurie eleison*. . The kings were bits of crowned wax in the fingers of their unctuous manipulators. Everywhere there is the reek of ecclesiastical intrigue. Everywhere the bishop's crook is intertwined with the king's sceptre, and it is difficult to distinguish whether it is a mitre or a crown that the king wears.

The alliance between church and state, however, was not so indissoluble but that the secular grandees — the great Gothic princely families — winced under the heel of the clergy. Though the clergy were singularly clear-sighted as to their ultimate object, — opulent, unscrupulous, powerfully intrenched in their church organization, and numerous, — they could not absolutely extinguish the martial spirit of the ancient Visigothic chieftains. This was soon shown in the rise of a distinguished Goth, Kindaswint (641-652), who caused himself to be proclaimed king, and the young king to be tonsured, and thrust into a cloister — at once nursery and hospital for immature or superannuated kinglets.

In Kindaswint, once more — almost for the last time — flashes up the fire of the old Goths. Nearly eighty when he seized the reins of government, his will of iron aimed at no less than the establishment of a strong and concentrated kingdom, the breaking of the backbone of rebellion, the extirpation of refractory nobles, and the banishment of turbulent intriguers to France or Africa. The clergy was strongly represented among the “emigrants,” who found it convenient to shun the wrath of this fierce octogenarian. He and his son, Rekiswint, established a system of Germanic law in place of the Roman breviary of Alaric, previously in force; they reformed thoroughly the courts and their procedure; compelled contumacious bishops and priests to appear before the secular judges; made provision for the faithful carrying-out of verdicts once rendered; menaced peasant and paladin with the same criminal code, with the same punishment; and bettered the legislation that concerned the lower classes. A zealous Christian, Kindaswint lived on excellent terms with all decent ecclesiastics; he showed literary culture, associated with scholars and poets; and full of years, and soon to be venerated by the superstitious monks as a saint, died at the age of ninety, in 652. Rekiswint, who had governed with him for three years, succeeded to the throne (649–672).

Again, as in the case of Recared, and Leovigild, we have the sunshine after the storm — the lamb following the lion. History tells of Rekiswint, that his character was irradiated with gentleness, that he delighted in edifying conversation, made important concessions to the church, and blamed the rigor of his father in his con-

troversies with the bishops. He purchased conciliation, however, at the expense of the future welfare and independence of his country. Far from consolidating, he dissolved existing institutions; he indulged the aggressive aristocracy, pardoned rebels, and instituted umpires to decide cases between king and people. The relaxation of important taxes weakened the means of the government; it was said of him, that he robbed the monarch to enrich the monarchy. Solemnly and circumstantially recognizing the unlimited freedom of choice of the king resting in the nobles, both church and lay, numerous church assemblies and renewed persecution of the Jews sealed his orthodoxy as undoubted. Saint and Virgin make miraculous apparitions during his reign, and a rain of gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones, emanating from the royal hands, bedews the churches of his kingdom. Bitter blame, however, is given to his humility — a trait signally out of place in a system founded, like this, on might.

Rekiwint passed away near Salamanca, in 672. The Gothic grandees, obeying the law that the new king must be chosen at the place where the deceased king had died, flocked to Salamanca. Wamba, one of the most prominent of them, was chosen to fill the vacancy. The usual luxuriance of legend, so fantastically abundant in these later times, twines about Wamba's accession; we are told, for example, how Pope Leo prophesied his elevation, and how, Cincinnatus-like, he was called away from the plough to the palace; how he declared it as impossible for him to be king, as for the staff with which he was driving his oxen to sprout in his hand; and how the staff *did* sprout and, moreover,

blossom. We are dramatically introduced to him in the annals of a contemporary biographer, who tells us how grief for the dead king, not ambition, had brought him to Salamanca, although his noble race, his ripe wisdom, his tried virtue, could not but lift him to the throne: hence, unanimity of decision among the *grandees*, obstinate refusal and tears of surprised modesty on Wamba's part, eventually overcome, by one of the *grandees* seizing a sword and threatening to kill him as a traitor to his native land, if he persisted in jeopardizing its welfare by declining. Then we have a dove-like cloud, and, according to another legend, a dove and a bee, ascending skyward from his head, at his coronation in Toledo, in 672.

Insurrections north of the Pyrenees and under the Byzantine Duke Paulus in Galicia and Asturias, troubled the early years of his reign. Paulus's aspirations to the throne ended in total discomfiture and a dunce-cap; for, being besieged in Nîmes, celebrated for its splendid amphitheatre, he was captured with the city: the rebels were dragged in chains — with shaven heads and chins (a brand of ignominy), and clad in camel's hair — through the streets, and Paulus himself was decked as it afterwards became the fashion to deck the martyrs at an *auto de fe*. The Basque *guerrilleros*, clinging to their eagles' nests among the porphyry cliffs of the Pyrenees, were soon brought to terms, and everything tended to the belief that a brilliant and able administration had begun. Wamba, it is said, vigorously reformed the navy, and repelled the first invasion of the Arabs under Acba, the general of the Khalif Yezid, though it is thought that the campaign is legendary.

Society and the state equally demanded heroic measures, if salvation from within and from without was to be expected. The slaves were called to arms, only a tenth of the whole number being allowed to stay at home for the cultivation of the fields. The great free middle class, the bulwark of the kingdom, had fearfully diminished, either crushed into the rank of serfs or sunk by debt



KING WAMBA.

into that of slaves ; and the very heart of the monarchy, the mainspring of defence and national independence, was gone. There was no longer any enthusiasm to follow the king's summons to arms, and there arose a luxurious aristocracy, steeped in effeminacy, superstitious, inactive, and unintelligent, which but ill-supplied the place of the middle class. The utmost acrimony de-

veloped against Wamba on the side of the church, for his unsparing use of its wealth in the defence of the land, and it was probably to church intrigue that he owed his fall.

Among all his paladins none was more honored by Wamba than Erwic, a Goth, son of the Greek Ardebast and a relation of the king. He handed the king a deadly potion, which, instead of killing him, threw him into a death-like stupor, during which he was seized, tonsured, and thrust into a monk's habit (680).

Erwic was immediately proclaimed king, though Wamba continued to live tranquilly as a monk in a monastery near Burgos. His resignation is attributed to his consciousness of the power of his adversary, and the superstition that even a "moine malgré lui," as Montalambert calls him, could no longer interest himself in the affairs of this world.

Erwic's chief support was the powerful archbishop of Toledo, Julian, whose arrogance soon became unbearable. A palace revolution, whose principal actors were priests, augured ill for this reign, which, in fact, was eight years of disaster, corruption, and concession. The privileges and powers of clergy and nobles, continually increased to the detriment of the crown, prepared the way slowly but surely for the inevitable downfall of a kingdom nearly 300 years old. Tyranny, indecency, contempt of law, frantic party spirit, eternal rebellion, oppression of the slaves, the conversion of whole provinces into the private possessions of an abandoned upper class; all this was an emphatic preparation for Târic and his hordes. Erwic's laws against the Jews — who, dismal as their fate had been, had exhibited great culture and showed great skill in theological contro-

versy with the Christian doctors, — reveal a cruelty and fanaticism worthy of the inquisition. Concessions were one by one made on all sides but this ; taxes remitted, Wamba's policy of defence for the kingdom fatally weakened, fugitives who had forfeited freedom and honor, pardoned ; in short, a period of universal disintegration set in.

Erwic at length retired in disgust — sick, conscience-smitten, and tormented by superstition — to a cloister, leaving the throne, as a compensation for the infamy of his conduct, not to his own children, but to Egica, a nephew of Wamba.

Erwic's reign has been well described as one long abdication, which did more harm to the Gothic empire than the most tyrannical conduct would have done.

Egica was Erwic's son-in-law, and though devoted to Catholicism would not permit himself to be ground to pieces beneath the heel of its votaries. He banished Sisbert, the primate of Spain who had been engaged in a conspiracy to assassinate the king and his family.

A new factor of great peril to the state now appears in formidable shape : the tortured, maltreated Jews, who had left their homes and had gone to settle in neighboring lands, especially in Africa, whence they kept up relations with the so-called Christianized Jews in Spain. Their position in Africa was far more tolerable than in Spain, as the ordinances fulminated against them by the Byzantine emperors had been suffered to fall into disuse ; and, on the conquest of Africa by the followers of Mahomet, the Hebrews, as belonging to a strictly mono-theistic faith which did not recognize image-worship in any form, were allowed full exercise of their

faith, and only had to pay the small capitation tax which was exacted by the Mahometans of all subject tribes of other creeds. The comparison between their condition in Africa and in Spain increased their hatred for the oppressor; they conspired with the Spanish Jews, and, probably, with the Arabs, with a view to an invasion of Spain by the Arabs, and the liberation of their countrymen from the misery of their situation. Their fury reached the highest pitch when, in 694, the council of Toledo resolved upon their universal enslavement and distribution among the Christian families of the realm.

This trumpet-blast of fanaticism rings in our ears as the last authentic act of the great Gothic state. We know next to nothing of the last seventeen years of its existence and we leave the firm ground of history for a battle-ground of innumerable legends, bright, fantastic, beautiful, and misleading.

Before his decease, however, the king contrived to get his son Witica, Duke of Galicia, acknowledged as his successor.

That Witica was greatly beloved by his people, greatly detested by the priesthood, that he energetically resisted the encroachments of the bishops, that he was dissolute in his conduct, that he recalled those who had been unjustly banished, and restored to them their offices and property, and that he generously destroyed the fraudulent acknowledgments of debt extorted by his father from his subjects, is all that we can extract of certain, from the meagre annals of the time. About him, as about his successor, Roderic, — "Don Rodrigo, the last of the Goths," — play the lights of a thousand legends. Spanish romance has enshrined them both in imperish-

able lines, and it is difficult to separate truth from fiction.

Witica seems to have died a natural death (710), and Roderic clings to history by the finest of gossamer threads. That he existed at all, is known to us alone from the lists of the names of the Gothic kings that extend down to him. A single doubtful coin with his name on it, and a legendary grave inscription at Viseu, in Portugal, attributed to him, cast a moribund illumination over his shadowy form. The zeal of the genealogists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has hitherto served to vitalize this kingly exhalation, and make it palpitate before us in flesh and blood; but their effort was purely political, and their object was, to give greater splendor to the Spanish monarchy than to the French kingdom and the German empire, by tracing its kings in a straight line, back to the Emperor Theodosius; and to do so, a mistake in a spelling, or a blundering reading, led to the insertion of a supposititious king Acausa, thrust in between Witica and Roderic, to make the genealogical *nexus* complete.

Roderic's name is a peg upon which countless charming inventions have been hung. Spanish Christians and Arabian poets, ballad-writers and ancient chroniclers, historians to whose heads the wine of these delightful fictions has but too readily mounted, and verse-writers in search of a graceful and pathetic theme, have made of "Don Rodrigo" the incarnation of their own subtly-woven fancies.

"Roderic, the son of that brave Duke Theodifred, whom Witica blinded," says the legend, "leaped upon the throne after Witica's death, and excluded the king's

sons from the succession. These princes, and the governor of Africa, Count Julian, whom the king had previously driven to deadly revenge, by the seduction of his lovely daughter, Doña Cava, or Florinda, called the Arabs secretly into the land. In the decisive battle, wherein the king appeared in a chariot drawn by eight white mules, the traitors, to whom the flanks of the Christian host had been entrusted, went over to the enemy, and battle and realm were lost forever to the Goths. King Roderic vanished. His golden shoes were found in the reeds by the river."

History simply says, that the decayed Visigothic commonwealth had long been ripe for destruction when the light-footed Arabs, invincibly fierce and potent, crossed the strait and gave it the finishing blow. A kingdom ulcerated with every imaginable evil as this one was—partisanship, contending nobles, clash of church with state, religious persecution, brigandage on a gigantic scale, extirpation of a free middle class, peopling of mountains and forest with thousands of runaway slaves, ready to join any conqueror—was ready for a catastrophe. Well has it been said that the legend has typically attributed the fatal aberrations of the entire nation, its extravagance and its party hate, to the last kings, Witica and Roderic.

Roderic had no successor. In the great battle of Xeres de la frontera, the Berbers commanded by Târic the One-eyed, were victorious, and in a few days, says the historian, watered their horses, in their progress from south-west to north-east, in the Guadalquivir, the Guadiana, and the Tagus, — capturing the great cities, of Cordova, Malaga, Granada (Illiberis), and Toledo,

the venerable capital of the peninsula, and occupying the whole country except the extreme north-west.

But out of this extreme corner, and from this unexampled amalgamation of races — CeltIberians, Romans, Goths, and Arabs — was to grow a new and more splendid feudal empire, illustrated by the beautiful light of Christian chivalry and memorable for its early recognition of municipal rights, constitutional liberty, the power of faith, and the power of discovery.

*Chronological Table of the Visigothic Kings.*

Athanaric,	366(?)—381*	Recared I.,	586—601
Alaric I.,	395—410	Leova II.,	601—603
Athaulf,	410—415	Witteric,	603—610
Sigric,	415—415†	Gunthimar,	610—612
Wallia,	415—419	Sisibut,	612—620
Theoderic I.,	419—451	Recared II.,	620—621
Thorismund,	451—453	Swintila,	620—631
Theoderic II.,	453—466	Rikimir,	?—631
Euric,	466—485	{ Sisinant,	631—636
Alaric II.,	485—507	{ Kindila,	636—640
{ Gesalic,	507—511	Tulga,	640—641
{ Amalaric,	507—531	{ Kindaswint,	641—652
Theudis,	531—548	{ Rekiswint,	649—672
Theudigisel	548—549	Wamba,	672—680
Agila	549—554	Erwic,	680—687
Athanagild,	554—567	{ Egica,	687—701
{ Leova I.,	567—572	{ Witica,	697—710
{ Leovigild,	567—586	Roderic,	710—711

\* Frithigern?

† September.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE BERBER CONQUEST AND THE KHALIFATE.

**W**ITH the great victory of Xeres de la frontera, in 711, the history of Spain changes as by a stroke of enchantment. Hitherto the polished tyranny of the Cæsars, and the rugged autocracy of the Visigoths, swarming with classic reminiscences and uncouth names, have employed our attention. Now the fabric of three hundred years — the laborious despotism of the followers of Alaric — vanishes like a dream.

The conquest of Spain was due to the Berbers, not to the Arabs. The Berbers, while having many peculiarities in common with the Arabs, were in other respects very different from them. A heterogeneous mass, peopling the shores of the Mediterranean, from Egypt to the Atlantic ocean, they were a fierce, warlike, liberty-loving race, deeply stained with fanaticism of an eccentric sort. Nomadic, homeless Bohemians in their habits, accustomed to an immemorial independence which the Roman arms had but faintly infringed, having the same political organization as the Arabs — a “democracy tempered by the influence of noble families” — they became as terrible adversaries to the Arabs of the West, when the latter attempted to reduce them, as the Arabs of the East had become to the Byzantine empire and Persia. “To conquer Africa, is impossible,” wrote

a governor to the Khalif Abdelmelic ; " scarcely is one Berber tribe conquered, when another takes its place." With unequalled obstinacy and admirable courage, however, the Arabs persisted in their purpose to overrun the Berber country, and after seventy years of murderous conflict, they succeeded, though on condition that the Berbers should be treated not as a vanquished nation, but as equals.

The sceptical and accomplished Arabs, too, were to the earnest and gloomy Berbers as the cultivated aristocracy of Rome had been to the uncivilized Visigoths. The Arab princes, passionately devoted to poetry, to women, to wine, to spiritual and sprightly conversation, did not disdain, now and then, to put up the Korán as a target, and speed their sacrilegious arrows through the precious volume. The Berber chieftains, on the other hand, profoundly imbued by non-conformist missionaries with the spirit of Mahometanism, followed their priests with blind veneration, became immersed in grovelling superstitions, paid to their *marabout* teachers a devotion unknown to the railing and disillusioned Arabs, and, as has been well said, accomplished great things — the foundation of the vast empires of the Almoravides and Almohades — when set in motion by a priest.

Islámism, originally hateful to the Berber race, had become, a hundred years after the death of its famous apostle, their most precious possession. To them it was no icy religion, half frozen between deism and infidelity, preached by unimpassioned missionaries, " telling them what they owed the khalif, but never what the khalif owed them." It was the enthusiastic faith preached by bold and persuasive dissenters from orthodox Ma-

hometanism who, tracked like wild beasts in the Orient, had escaped their persecutors through a thousand dangers, found an asylum in the glowing deserts of Africa, and propagated their doctrines with brilliant success along the line of the conquests of Belisarius. "Musulman Calvinism had at length found its Scotland." The irreligious Arab spirit, viewing all things lightly, from the point of view of pleasurable sensation or cynical indifference, looked either with contempt or horror on these uncompromising sectaries ; now treating them with condescending tolerance, now contemplating them with undisguised disgust. Such were the future conquerors of Spain.

The situation of the peninsula was indeed deplorable enough, and the date of the misery lay far back in Roman times. Immense territorial possessions in the hands of a few ; multitudes of ruined burghers, serfs, and slaves ; enormous taxation crushing out the life of the poor, and filling the pockets of the rich ; honorary titles and magistracies innumerable, to which no definite duties were attached ; uncurbed luxury disporting itself, at the expense of the people, in gorgeous villas that overhung beautiful rivers, shrouded in olives and vines, hung with Syrian and Persian tapestries, encumbered by slaves, filled with guests stretched out on purple rugs, who improvised verses, listened to musicians, or looked at dancing women ; a starving plebs covered with rags and swarming with vermin ; throngs of paupers kept alive by charitable contributions, and rendered unspeakably ignoble by gloating over gross and barbarous spectacles ; the petty proprietors in the towns reduced to profound distress by the exactions of the

Roman fiscal system ; bankrupt communities ; forests thronged with fugitives from justice ; such was the condition of things even under the Cæsars. A single Christian in Gaul owned five thousand slaves, another eight thousand ; and these slaves were treated with such rigor, that a case is mentioned in which three hundred lashes were given because one of their class had failed to bring his lord his warm water punctually. Brigandage springing from this source, even in the time of Diocletian, had assumed such proportions in the Gauls, that an army commanded by a Cæsar had to be sent to crush it.

It hardly required a tempest of barbarians to overthrow, as by a breath, a society honeycombed by such evils as these. Spain lay paralyzed before the Suevi, the Alans, the Vandals, and the Visigoths. The approach of the barbarians, instead of being signalized by desperate resistance on the part of the Peninsula, was viewed with a serenity that seemed imperturbable. Nothing could be worse than Roman tyranny ; hence, while the sombre invaders were knocking at the gates of the Spanish cities, we are told that the inhabitants, far from rivaling the memories of Saguntum and Numantia, gave themselves up to drunkenness, gluttony, singing, dancing—threw themselves into the arms of beautiful slaves, or rushed to the amphitheatres, where they might glut their sanguinary appetites on the agonies of gladiators. The Vandals happily passed into Africa (429), but the Suevi and the Visigoths planted themselves in the land for three centuries, and made the people look back with regret to the tyranny of Rome, insupportable as that had been.

During this dark period, the light of learning and piety was kept ablaze by the clergy. In the end, many preferred to be penniless and free under the dominion of the Goths, to being wealthy and pillaged under the dominion of Rome. Kings praying before the battle in hair shirts; victories, recognized as coming straight from the hand of the Eternal, succeeded to the order and civilization, the scepticism and luxury of the earlier and more enlightened pagan time. The condition of the serfs had been viewed with tender solicitude by the Catholic clergy before their advent to power under Recared, and they had been promised emancipation; but the poverty, scorn, oppression, persecution, did not cease when the clergy rose to influence, and their promise was forgotten. The middle class remained as it had been, unameliorated, unaided, bankrupt. The persecutions of the Jews broke out under Sisibut in 616 and eighty years of suffering were borne in silence, till, seventeen years before the invasion of Spain by the Berbers, they resolved upon a general rising with the help of their co-religionaries in Africa, where several Berber tribes professed Judaism, and many exiled Jews had found a refuge. The plot was discovered, and from a religious persecution of misbelievers the policy of the government changed in an instant to one of extirpation of dangerous conspirators. Consequently, at the moment of the Mussulman conquest of north-western Africa, the Jews were groaning under a savage yoke. They prayed for the hour of deliverance; they welcomed conquerors, who, for a small tribute, would restore them to liberty and permit them the free exercise of their cult.

The Jews, serfs, and poverty-stricken burghers of Spain had thus become transformed into so many implacable enemies of a social condition leprous with every imaginable disease, and crumbling to pieces with inner rottenness. And yet slaves and Jews were all the wealthier classes had to oppose to the Berber invaders. Both Romans and Goths had been obliged to call the agricultural laborers to arms, and the army had to be recruited largely from them. From a tenth of their serfs, the proprietors seem to have been obliged to enroll fully one half for military service, so that the number of servile soldiers in the army must have surpassed the number of free men. Hence the defence of the state had fallen into the hands of those most hostile to it. What could be expected of a horde of circumcised pessimists and mutinous chattels in a conflict for the very life or death of the State? The germs of dissolution being thus contained in the system itself, all that was necessary to overthrow it completely, was an army of twelve thousand men under a capable leader.

The limits of the Arabian empire, under the Khalif Wâlid had been extended by Mousâ-ibn-Noçair, his general in Africa, to the Atlantic ocean. The city of Ceuta alone, opposite Gibraltar, and held for the Byzantine empire by Julian, its governor, now remained of all Belisarius's conquests along the coast.

The legend is, that Count Julian had sent his daughter to the court of Toledo, to be educated in accordance with her birth. But she was dishonored by Roderic; whereupon Julian, enraged, concluded a treaty with Mousâ, opened the gates of Ceuta to the Arabs, spoke eloquently of the beauty and fascinations of

Spain, engaged him to attempt the conquest of the country, and placed vessels at his disposal to cross to the Spanish coast.

"Let Spain be explored by light troops, but for the present guard against exposing a great army to the perils of an expedition beyond the sea," replied the Khalif Wâlid to Mousâ, in response to an inquiry for instructions.

A preliminary exploring party, therefore, crossed to Algeziras, the "green isle," (710) under Târif, reconnoitred and pillaged the country, and then returned.

The following year, Roderic being away in the North, quelling an insurrection of the Basques, Târic-ibn-Ziyâd, one of Mousâ's clients and the general of the vanguard, was sent over with seven thousand Mussulmans, nearly all Berbers, accompanied by Julian. The army assembled upon the mountain which still bears Târic's name, Gibraltar (Geba-Târic), but learning that Roderic, at the head of a vast army, from forty thousand to one hundred thousand, was advancing against him, he sent for an additional force of five thousand Berbers.

Treason, however, was the most potent ally of the invaders. Though no hereditary succession existed in the Visigothic monarchy, the legend reports that Roderic, supported by many grandees, had dethroned Witica (Witiza) his predecessor, and thus "deprived" the sons and brothers of the late king of their "right" to the succession.

Menaced by the approach of Târic, Roderic summoned them to his assistance, having previously tried in every way to appease their resentment. They obeyed his commands, but formed the project of delivering him

into the hands of the enemy ; not that they thought of delivering their fatherland into barbarian hands, for it was believed that the Berbers had only come on a temporary raid, — which was the truth, — and not for the purpose of establishing their dominion permanently in the land ; and, moreover, it was thought that when victorious and loaded with plunder, they would return to Africa, leaving the land to the conspirators. A short-sighted and fatal egotism thus blinded them to the consequences of their treachery, and laid the foundations of seven hundred years of Saracenic rule.

The plan was executed ; the brothers passed over to the enemy. Roderic (in the legend) appears like a veritable king of melodrama, in a chariot of ivory, with a crown sparkling with jewels, — a fantastic theatre-figure, fluttering in purple raiment : he is slain by Târic : he vanishes mysteriously, and all that remains of him is his white charger, who is found sunk in the mire of the river-sedge, while upon the horse's back flashed a saddle of gold, radiant with precious stones.

Târic had previously, say the Arabian chroniclers, skilfully played upon the imaginations of the impressionable Berbers, by telling them of a vision he had had on the sea, as they were coming ; how the prophet and the four Khalifs had appeared to him in a dream, predicted victory, and commanded him to treat the Mussulmans with gentleness. Like Cortés, he is said to have burnt his ships that there might be no return, and his progress through the land is accompanied by graceful and impressive visions of the supernatural.

Rendered thus invincible by a consciousness of the favor of Heaven, Târic forgot his orders, did not re-

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turn to Africa as Mousâ had commanded him, and hastened like a true general to take advantage of his victory.

Roderic's defeat and death at once precipitated all the loose and disorganized elements in the kingdom into crystallization round the invaders. "The serfs would not stir for fear they might save their masters with them;" the Jews sprang to arms, and hurried into the service of the Mussulmans, and an unspeakable confusion prevailed everywhere. Ecija, Elvira, Cordova, Toledo, fell into the hands of the invaders, amid universal dismay of prelate and patrician. But two courses remained for the vanquished: salvation by flight, or negotiation with the victors. The princes of the house of Witica obtained in return for their treachery, the three thousand "farms" belonging to the crown domain, and Witica's son was named governor of Toledo.

A simple raid had thus become a splendid conquest. "God had filled the hearts of the infidels with fear," indeed, said a Mussulman chronicler.

Meanwhile, Mousâ on the other side of the strait, foamed with indignation and disappointment: that Târic, his lieutenant, and not he himself, should reap all this glory, seemed intolerable. But, happily, something still remained to be done; Spain was not all conquered; so hurrying up his troops, he passed the strait in 712, with eighteen thousand Arabs, took Medina-Sidonia, besieged and took the great city of Seville, then Merida (713), and went to Toledo to join Târic. "Why didst thou march forward without my permission? I gave thee orders only to make a foray and then return

to Africa!" cried he, applying the ignominious whip to Târic's shoulders.

The story of Mousâ is full of touching legends invented by the romancers long after his time. Named by Abdulaziz, brother of the Khalif, governor of Africa; a Yemenite of illustrious lineage, the conqueror of Spain; he returned from that country gorged with plunder, was recalled to Syria by the Khalif Wâlid, was accused of enormous peculation, stripped of his ill-gotten gains, and even condemned to death, though he escaped with his life by the payment of an immense fine.

The rest of Spain sank under the Arabian rule without resistance, with the exception of an inconsiderable part of the north and north-west. Interest urged to a speedy submission, for in this way advantageous treaties could be made, whilst opposition was attended by death and loss of property.

The Berber conquest cannot be characterized as a great calamity. The anarchy of its commencement was soon succeeded by a state of things which the enervated population hailed with complacency. The Arab domination was more tolerable than the Gothic. The conquered people retained their own laws and judges, counts and governors; their agricultural pursuits were left undisturbed; the serfs were obliged to till the land as before, and to pay the Mussulman proprietor one-fifth of the produce, while the state serfs paid a third of the produce of what had formerly been the crown lands; conquered districts and possessions appertaining to the church or to fugitive patricians, were divided among the conquerors while the serfs remained on them; the Christian cultivators paid a third of their produce, not to the

state, but to the Arab feudatories who had been enfeoffed with a part of the state domain ; and special cities, like Merida, Lorca, Alicante, and Orihuela, obtained terms of the most honorable kind. In general, the Christians retained most of their property, were permitted to alienate it at will, — a right denied them under the Visigoths, — and paid a capitation tax until they embraced Islámism.

To the previous intolerance of the Arian and Catholic clergy, now succeeded the mild religious sway of the Arabs. Nobody was outraged for his religious beliefs ; the government did not care that the Christians should become Mussulmans, — the treasury lost too much by it ! — and the new authority was so much liked by all, that Christian revolts became rare ; even the priesthood became reconciled. Nobody seemed scandalized that Egilona, widow of Roderic, should marry (?) Abdúlaziz, son of Mousâ. The conquest was looked upon as a blessing in some respects ; it was followed by an important social revolution, and many of the evils under which the country had been groaning for centuries, disappeared.

The power of the privileged classes was, if not annihilated, at least greatly lessened ; petty proprietorship sprang up on an extensive scale, out of the confiscated lands which had been divided among great numbers of individuals ; agriculture flourished happily under Arabian protection ; the condition of the servile classes was ameliorated ; Islámism was more favorable to the emancipation of the slaves than Christianity had been. It was a command of Mahomet, speaking in the name of God, that slaves should be allowed to redeem them-

selves, and under Mahometanism it was a meritorious act to free them. The conquest furnished both the slaves and the serfs of the Christians an opportunity of recovering their freedom. Flight to the property of a Mussulman, and the utterance there of the magic formula, "There is but one God and Mahomet is his prophet!" rendered the runaway slave "Allah's freed-man."

The boundless religious tyranny of the Visigoth, seems after all, only to have produced superficial impressions. Pagan Spain had slipped into Catholicism with an easy-going conscience. Arian Spain threw off the mantle of heterodoxy with ready universality: and yet even in the time of the Arabs, Paganism and Christianity were still found disputing together, and Christianity in many localities, merely floated upon the lips rather than dwelt in the hearts of many of its followers. Hence it is hardly strange that the serfs fell into the snare, — abjured their elementary and ill-understood Catholicism, and welcomed Mahomet both as spiritual guide and personal liberator. Many patricians did the same.

One undoubted evil resulting from the conquest, was the shameless frivolity with which the Arabian emirs and sultans named the bishops, — often libertines, Jews, Mussulmans, steeped in debauchery, — to the vacancies in the episcopal body. Gradually, too, they came to view the treaties which had been made with less rigor; a gentle and humane domination passed by degrees into an intolerable despotism. "We must *eat* the Christians; and our descendants must eat theirs, as long as Islāmism lasts." The advice of the Khalif Omar, became

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the guiding principle of the conquerors of the Peninsula. The *renegades* — those who had abjured their religion and turned Mahometans — stigmatized as “concealed Christians,” “sons of slaves,” “the adopted,” — found themselves, in the course of time, in a lamentable predicament: they had lost their religious nationality.

Many of them, despite their conventional conversion, were really Christians, but they could no longer return to Christianity; the barrier of an inexorable law stood between them and their lost faith. Once “converted,” a Christian who apostatized suffered death; and even his posterity were Mussulmans in spite of themselves; they suffered for the error of their forefathers.

Their social position, too, was infamous; they were excluded ordinarily, from remunerative employment, and from all participation in the state government; their conversion was discredited; they were all blighted with the name of “slave.”

It stands to reason that they could not resign themselves to being treated in this fashion, especially as many of the converts were among the wealthiest and noblest proprietors of the country, and, as a whole, formed a majority of the population. The constraint, the disdain, the social inferiority, the narrow insolence of their oppressors, converted them into standing rebels, and from time to time, in greater or in less numbers, a mobilization of the whole renegade population against the Mussulmans — a seething cauldron of rebellion bubbling for a hundred and fifty years, frequently assisted by the Christians — took place.

It was only towards the middle of the tenth century that Abderaman III. succeeded in fusing the whole mass,

— Arab, Spanish, Berber, — into a really united nation, by the rigor of his inflexible administration.

A fleeting, not a lingering glance, must now be cast upon the internal condition of Spain, up to the time of the establishment of the independent kingdom of Cordova, (about 755-63) under Abderaman I, the founder of the great Omayyade dynasty in the West.

The country called by the Arabs "Andalusia," was divided up into five provinces, each with its *Wali* or governor, the chief of whom, after Ayub's time, lived in Cordova, from whence the whole country was governed. Each fortified town had its *alcaide*, or commandant, and *cadi*, or Moslem judge.

From the time of Mousâ to the time of the landing of Abderaman I, (755), emifs, appointed by the governors of Africa in the name of the Khalif of the East, succeeded one another with great rapidity. Though the Berbers had conquered the country, the Arabs, under Mousâ, took immediate possession of the loveliest parts of it, and sent their allies, to starve or plunder, into the arid plains of Estremadura, La Mancha, Castile, and the North. This, together with the arrival of the Syrians, odious to the Arabs on account of their religious differences, brought together a trinity of irreconcilable elements, which, added to the Christian mountaineers of the Asturias, the renegades throughout the Peninsula, and the Christian population within the Musulman jurisdiction, evoked a confusion and conflict that lasted for generations.

The Omayyades were illustrious nobles of Mecca, who, after giving fifteen khalifs to the East, had succumbed at the death of the last of the Oriental line, Merwân II, in 750. The Abbâside dynasty, descended from

Abbas, uncle of the prophet, likewise a family of the highest rank, had usurped the throne, and endeavored to exterminate utterly the whole race of its predecessors.

Abderaman, a tall, vigorous, valiant youth, of noble mien and princely accomplishments, — an ideal Omai-yade in the mingled suavity and inflexibility of his temper — escaped to Spain, mastered the situation in that faction-ridden country with the instinct of a genuine man of genius, and throwing off his allegiance to the Eastern Khalifate, assumed independent sovereignty. It was not however, till 929, that the title *Khalif* and Commander of the Faithful — hitherto out of respect applied to him of Damascus and Bagdad only — was assumed. Before that time, *Sultan*, *emir*, or *son of the Khalif*, was the title of the sovereign of Spain.

Prior to Abderaman's reign, the only event of memorable importance that had signalized the Arabic supremacy, was the great defeat at Tours in France, in 732, at which Charles Martel profoundly humbled the Arabs, slew their general Abderaman and put an end forever to all permanent Semitic settlements on that side of the Pyrenees. The moon of Islám continued to flicker, from time to time, faintly among the Frankish principalities in the south of France, till the year 793, when it seems to have been darkened completely by "the yongë sonne" of Charlemagne.

It was in 756 that Abderaman was recognized emir of all Spain. Proscribed, tossed about for five years amid all the vicissitudes of an adventurous life, wandering from tribe to tribe in the deserts of Africa, he had at length, with the help of his Omai-yade clients become master of a great country. But his seat on the throne

was an uneasy one, and his reign of thirty-two years was a gladiatorial wrestle, now with the Yemenite sect, to whom he had owed his elevation, now with the Berbers, and now with the restless tribe of Fihrites. Indefatigably active, at once perfidious and astute, generous and implacable, Abderaman came forth victor in all the wars he had to wage with his subjects, and his success commanded even the admiration of his enemies. It was in his days that the famous disaster, so musically recounted in the *Chanson de Roland*, occurred, — the defeat of Roncesvalles.

Three Arab chiefs, al-Arâbi, governor of Barcelona, Abderaman-ibn-habîb, the *Slav* — so called on account of his tall and slender figure, his flaxen hair, and his blue eyes, which recalled the type of that race, several of whom were then living in Spain — and Abou'l-Aswad, bore such hatred to Abderaman for the wrongs he had done them, that they resolved to implore the help of Charlemagne to avenge themselves on him. The world was then full of the glory of the exploits of this conqueror. The conspirators betook themselves to Paderborn, and proposed an alliance against the emir of Spain, which Charlemagne did not hesitate to accept; a coalition more formidable than any that had yet imperilled the dominion of Abderaman. Charlemagne crossed the Pyrenees and laid siege to Saragossa on finding that the inhabitants refused to deliver it into his hands, but was unexpectedly recalled to the banks of the Rhine on hearing that Wittekind, the dreaded chief of the Saxons, had availed himself of his absence, had returned from exile, excited insurrection, and was now opposite Cologne with his rebellious countrymen.

With all possible speed, Charlemagne hastened back over the Pyrenees through the pass of Roncesvalles : but while the army was defiling through the long and narrow gorge, the Basques, who were bitter foes of the Franks, pounced upon the rear-guard of Charlemagne's army, encumbered as it was with baggage, hurled the soldiers down into the valley, slew them to a man, — even Roland, commander of the frontier of Brittany, — plundered the baggage train, and then vanished into the night as tracelessly as they had come.

Eventually Abderaman came to be execrated by Arabs and Berbers alike ; he quarrelled with his followers, and was betrayed by his kinsmen. His solitary walks through the streets of Cordova among his people were interrupted ; isolated, gloomy, and inaccessible, he rarely left his palace unless surrounded by a numerous guard. A standing army of forty thousand mercenaries was established, blindly devoted to his person ; and he employed them pitilessly in breaking the backbone of the Arabs and Berbers, teaching them obedience, and compelling them to contract habits of peace and order. His course was in exact parallelism with that of the kings of the fifteenth century in their efforts to triumph over feudalism. A "despotism of the sword" had thus been initiated, which was only too conscientiously imitated by his successors. But these people were otherwise ungovernable. Instinct and recollection equally called their inharmonious tribes to independence and the formation of so many republics ; a monarchical government was contrary to their nature, and self-government was impossible.

The eight years of the reign of his son and successor,

Hichâm (788-796) were specially colored by the rise and spread of a new school of Mahometan theology, held in great veneration by the Sultan: the school of Mâlic, founder of one of the four orthodox sects of Islâmism. Hichâm's victories over his rebellious brothers, Solaiman and Abdallah, and over his Frankish enemies (793); his mildness and munificence; his pious enthusiasm in the building of the great mosque of Cordova, begun by his father; his love of science and success in establishing schools of learning, in which even Christians were made acquainted with the riches of the Arabian intellect; all this greatly endeared him to his people, and paved the way to their giving ready allegiance to his son, Hacam.

A cultivated voluptuary, "richly organized to enjoy life," bright, joyous, passionately devoted to hunting and wine-drinking, Hacam roused the insolent ire of the *faqis* of the new school of theology, by refusing to permit them so great an influence in the affairs of state as they wished. They calumniated and denounced him, pelted him with stones through their renegade agents who swarmed in the capital, and formed a treacherous league to dethrone him. Much is said of his blooming youth, the brilliance of his glance, his fine form, his careful education, and the energy with which he curbed the volatile revolutionists of his capital. A famous story, too characteristic and too illustrative of the spirit of the times, to be omitted, is told of his procedure against the rebels of Toledo. His fifteen-year old son, Abderaman, gained admittance to the castle, caused elaborate preparations for a feast to be made, and had invitations sent to from seven hundred to five thousand

(accounts are conflicting) of the principal inhabitants of the place. The guests, arriving one by one, were admitted and led to a fosse, where their heads, for a series of horrible hours, were struck off one after the other. The people, noticing the disappearance of the guests and their failure to return, thought they must have sallied forth by another door. "It is strange!" said a physician, "I have been at the other door, and I waited there some time, but I saw nobody come out." Then, noticing attentively vapor rising above the walls, "Wretched creatures!" cried he, "that is not the smoke of a feast they are preparing; it is the blood of our slain brethren!"

Wearied with perpetual conspiracies and revolutions, Hacam, like his grandfather, shut himself up in his palace, wasted his youth in unworthy voluptuousness and drink, and became such a monster of cruelty that he caused a populous suburb of Cordova to be set in flames, forced thousands to go into exile to Fez and Alexandria, and in his old age, expiated his guilt by profound melancholy and madness. Music and verse alone gave him any solace. He surrounded himself with mamelukes, who were called *mutes* because they were negroes or slaves who could not speak Arabic. These terrible and inexorable fiends, unable even to understand the prayer of their victims, throttled the Cordovans by hundreds at the moment of the burning of the suburb.

A true Arab, Hacam sovereignly hated the people of the country, whereas, towards those of his own caste he was disgracefully partial. His death in 822, rid the land of an Arabian Caligula.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE BERBER CONQUEST AND THE KHALIFATE.

[CONTINUED.]

Abderaman II. one of Hacam's forty sons, and his successor, made the court of the sultans of Spain more brilliant than it had ever been. He rivalled the sumptuousness and prodigality of the Khalifs of Bagdad, embellished the capital, built mosques, bridges, and palaces at vast expense, and constructed magnificent gardens which were irrigated by the mountain streams of the vicinity. A poet himself, like so many of these accomplished princes, he recompensed other poets munificently: gentle and affable, he did not even punish the thefts he saw committed in his palace with his own eyes; and he is celebrated for the quadruple tyranny exercised over him by a *faqui*, a musician, a woman, and an eunuch.

The *faqui* was the Berber Tahyâ, a fierce, impetuous, and bitter-tempered fanatic, who had instigated the St. Bartholomew of the suburb. He was revered by the monarch, who had delivered up to him the government of the church and the superintendence of the department of justice.

Ziryâb, the charming Eastern musician from Bagdad, who had enchanted the ear of Hâroun-ar-Rachîd, who

heard the genies singing in his sleep—an inimitable improvisatore and connoisseur in all the arts and sciences of the day, even astronomy and geography; who knew 10,000 songs by heart, and whose sparkling conversation, grace, and elegance were the talk of his time, the model of Arabian “bon ton,” supremely distinguished in manners and knowledge—Ziryâb became the social legislator of Spain, introduced innumerable innovations in manners, and lived in the completest intimacy—signed and sealed by hundreds and thousands of gold pieces in gifts and pensions—with his master. The long-haired Mussulmans with the hair parted in the middle, had to cut their raven locks short; golden and silver vases and linen tablecloths, gave way to crystal and leather; the various array of the season was prescribed by this dictator; he convinced the Arabian Spaniards of the excellency of asparagus; dishes of many curious kinds took his name, and the celebrity of the graceful Epicurean lived to the latest Mussulman times, side by side with that of illustrious savants, poets, generals, ministers, and princes.

The Sultana Taroub and the Eunuch Naçr completed this singular quartette. Taroub’s affections were fixed on bags of silver and necklaces of fabulous price. Naçr was a cruel and pale-hearted apostate, of Spanish birth, who ground the Christians with fiendish gayety, and reigned supreme with his mistress within the palace.

Stubborn insurrections broke out in Merida and Toledo; in 843 the coast of Spain was ravaged by the Norman sea-robbers, probably for the first time, and in



**CHARRO OF SALAMANCA.**

[illegible]

844 they even sailed up the Guadalquivir to Seville, robbed, burned, plundered, and fled.

An extraordinary drought scourged the whole land in 846, followed by countless locusts, a famine, and great suffering; but the people of the capital at least were kept quiet by being employed in constructing numbers of fountains and marble baths, paving the streets, rearing the superb palaces of Merwan and Moghais, and bringing the mountain-water to Córdoba in leaden pipes. Bitter religious strifes and controversies, precipitated by the passion of the Christians for martyrdom, and embittered by the intolerance of Tahyâ, raged in the capital.

The poet, warrior, general, and scholar, Abderaman II. died in 852 in the odor of love and philanthropy. The old monarch, according to Eulogius, had mounted to the terrace of his palace, when his eye fell on the gibbets to which were dangling the mutilated corpses of the last Christian martyrs; he gave orders for them to be burned, but scarcely had the order been given when an attack of apoplexy seized him, and he expired in the night.

Mohammed, one of his forty-five sons, — a frigid and heartless egotist, — succeeded him. "Descendant of the Khalifs," cried his favorite, Hâchim, "how beautiful would this world be if there were no death!" "What an absurd idea!" replied Mohammed; "If there were no death, should I be reigning? Death is a good thing; my predecessor is dead, that is why I reign!"

This prince was universally scorned and hated for his niggardliness; he even cheated the employees of the treasury out of two pence when he once had to examine

an account running up to one hundred thousand gold pieces. The roads became infested with brigands, so that even the already infrequent communications between the cities had to be kept up by caravans banded together for mutual defence; martyrdoms increased, though the attitude of the enlightened Mahometans towards these misguided fanatics was one of pity, as towards demoniacs bereft of their senses; the Christians and renegades of the mountains of Regio raised a formidable revolt, echoed all over the peninsula; the bright almond groves and cherry orchards, the gardens of citron, pomegranate, apples, and pears, — romantic Andalusia, with its fields filled with the gold of wheat and the emerald of hemp, threaded by the silver of innumerable rivulets cleaving the noble mountains and plains of Ronda and Malaga, — became a bloody battle-ground between Saracen and Spaniard. The north was free and in league against the Sultan.

In 879 emeutes and insurrections were ablaze in many places, especially in Regio. The Christians of Galicia and Navarre, the Normans in sixty ships (866) destroying lighthouses and mosques along the coast; Alfonso III. of the Asturias in his expeditions; finally the great rebellion of Omar-ibn-Hafçoun, shook the kingdom of Cordova to its foundations, and menaced it with total overthrow. In a short time Omar ceased to be a robber chieftain and gathered about him a sort of effulgence as chief of the whole discontented Spanish population of the South. He became the real king of Andalusia.

Mohammed's death in 886 extended Omar's dominion, and the death of his successor and son, Mondhir, —

said to be one of a hundred sons, — slain by a poisoned lancet (888) two years afterward, brought about a state of things perilous in the extreme.

His brother Abdallâh — who supremely scorned “the people that rang bells and adored crosses” — came into possession of a state suffering from almost fatal debility. Already it seemed on the point of ruin and decomposition. Ibn-Hafçoun and his insurgent mountaineers were but a part of the evil; the Arab aristocracy had begun to rise and assert its independence; a power more dreadful to the monarchical principle than the Spaniards themselves. Secret apostacy from Mahometanism had gone on increasing under the reigns of Abderaman II. and Mohammed, and added a new element of danger; counterbalanced to some extent by wholesale “conversion” in various parts of the land. There was no sympathy between the Arabs of the provinces, mostly descended from the soldiers of Damascus, and the “vile canaille” as they termed both Mussulman and Christian Spaniards. The first Alhambra became a majestic ruin in the savage combats between Sanwâr and the allies of Ibn-Hafçoun. Seville, the seat of Roman science and civilization, the lamp of the Visigoths, the glory of Spain, surrounded by a delightful circle of figs and olives through which the tranquil Guadalquivir traced a line of inexhaustible fertility, was the scene of an abominable massacre, which few of its Spanish population survived; and we are told that in the seignorial manors of the neighborhood, the improvisatores in the evenings long continued to celebrate in solemn chant their remembrances of this sombre drama. Bread had become enormously dear; com-

merce was annihilated ; nobody believed in the future ; discouragement was universal. The sultan, seated on a throne which he owed to a fratricide, had found it a bed of thorns. In the fourth year of his reign (891), nearly all of Mussulman Spain had freed itself from his sway ; every Arab, Berber, or Spanish lord had appropriated for himself some part of the heritage of the Omayyades ; the treasury was empty ; Abdallâh was pusillanimous ; Ibn-Hafçoun was intriguing with Bagdad that he might obtain recognition as sultan ; and even after his great defeat at Pölei (891), he seemed invincible. This victory and the reconciliation of the sultan with the powerful Sevillian chieftain, Ibn-Haddjâdj, previously in revolt, proved Abdallâh's salvation, and were the beginning of a re-establishment of the royal power.

Ibn-Haddjâdj was a singularly interesting type of the tributary Arabian prince. Within his own domain his power was unlimited ; he had his own army ; he named all the officials of Seville, from cadi and chief of police down to the least official ; he kept up royal state ; maintained an aulic council, and a body-guard of five hundred gentlemen ; he wore a mantle of brocade, on which his names and titles were embroidered in letters of gold, and while unsparingly severe towards malefactors, maintained order with firmness. A prince and a merchant, a friend of art and literature, he "received, in the same vessels, presents from distant princes and tissues from Egypt, scholars from Arabia, and dancing-women from Bagdad." The poets of Spain flocked to his court, and with bitter accent contrasted his magnificence with the meanness of Abdallâh.

The arms of the sultan, dating from this victory and his reconciliation with Ibn-Haddjâdj, were constantly victorious in the south, till his death in 912.

As there was no settled succession to the throne, and as it was the custom to fill a vacancy by choosing the eldest son or the ablest relative of the deceased sultan, fears were entertained that the numerous uncles and grand-uncles might dispute the succession with Abderaman, grand-son of Abdallâh and presumptive heir. Abderaman was son of the wretched Mohammed, who was murdered by his own brother, by order of his father, Abdallâh.

The new king, however, contrary to all expectation, found no opposition to his elevation, and mounted the throne, as the third of the name, amid general joy and satisfaction. Abdallâh's own eleven sons were thus excluded.

A great, blue-eyed, light-complexioned, nobly-formed youth, as his grandfather had been in his younger days, Abderaman had been educated with particular care; he was the idol of his grandfather's old age, though his own frank and audacious character was the exact opposite of the circumspect and tortuous Abdallâh's.

To a period of profound demoralization, anarchy, and civil war, now succeeded, under his commanding genius, comparative order and concord. The Arab aristocracy had lost its proudest chieftains. A weaker generation, to whom the grievances, pride, passions, and energy of the preceding were unknown, had grown up. Blazing villages and ruined plantations, fantastic cruelties of brigands nested in crenellated towers that kissed the clouds, and the maintenance of a conflict

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which, from national, had narrowed into a mere clash of hostile and mutually repugnant faiths, seemed no longer worth admiring or worth maintaining. The gates of the insurgent cities opened as by magic, before the young and brilliant monarch, the fame of whose clemency and intelligence, soon made his people forget the old sultan, — the monstrous misanthrope — who had poisoned two of his own brothers, caused a third to be executed, and slain two of his sons on simple suspicions and without a trial. He conducted himself with the utmost rectitude towards the Christians of his capital, His great antagonist, the Spanish hero Ibn-Hafçoun, after thirty years of warfare against the invaders of his fatherland, died unconquered in 917, two years after a horrible famine when the people of Cordova died of starvation by thousands.

By 930, Toledo, which had maintained its independence for eighty years, alone remained to be taken, to complete Abderaman's possession of the heritage of his ancestors. After a two years' siege, it fell; Arabs, Spaniards, and Berbers bowed the knee before the power of the crown; and the principle of unlimited monarchy was proclaimed amid universal silence. A period of "administrative despotism" set in; the ancient traditions of the people — their reminiscences of the absolute dominion of the Romans and Visigoths — were rehabilitated; class distinctions tended to disappear; and Abderaman III. became the mighty amalgamator — the Oriental magician — who harmonized the glaring discords of creed and race and proved himself incontestably the greatest of the Omaiade Arabian monarchs of Spain.

In fact, Abderaman had accomplished wonders ; an empire delivered up to the anarchy of civil war, torn by factions, parcelled out among a throng of lords of various race, exposed to the continual raids of the Christians of the north, on the eve of being swallowed up by the people of Leon or the Fatimide fanatics of Africa, had been saved both from itself and from foreign domination, had come forth greater than ever, had entered upon a period of prosperity and order, respected alike at home and abroad. The treasury was overflowing ; millions of gold pieces filled the state coffers (951) ; and Abderaman came to pass for one of the richest sovereigns in the world. Agriculture, commerce, arts, sciences, industry, a wonderful system of irrigation with its co-ordinate branches and industries, flourished as they had never flourished before. A vigilant police made every spot accessible with safety ; fruits and provisions were astonishingly low ; " everybody rode, everybody was clean," Such is the account of an Arabian traveller.

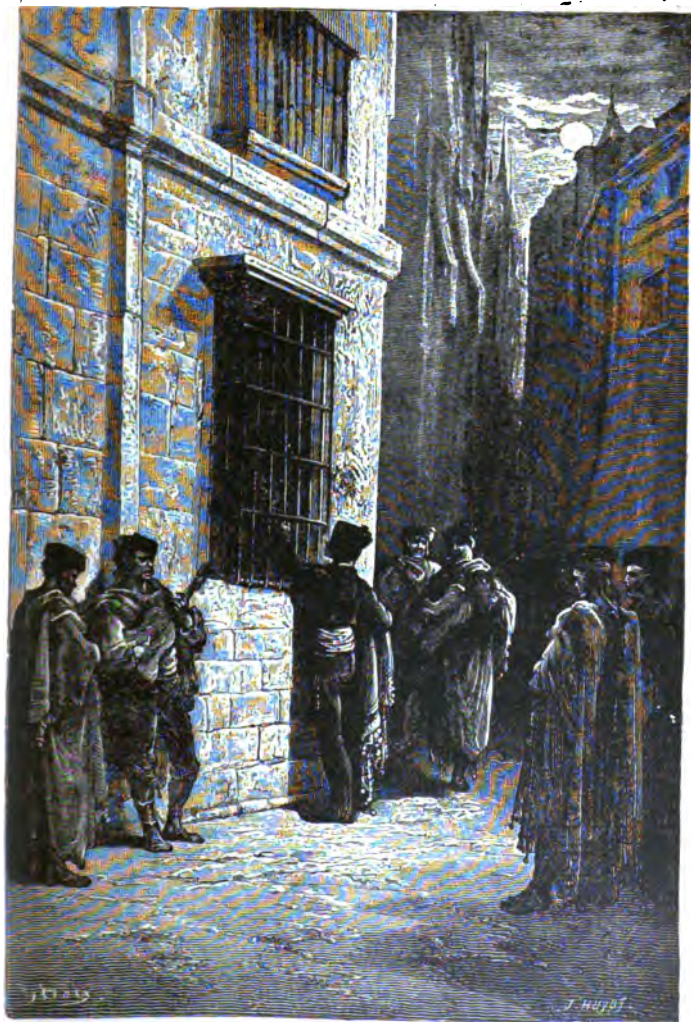
Cordova in this reign numbered five hundred thousand inhabitants, three thousand mosques, one hundred and thirteen thousand houses, and twenty-eight suburbs ; and the beauty and splendor of its appearance rivalled that of Bagdad the noble capital of the Abbāsides. It was named and known in the heart of Germany. In 936, the foundations of a splendid city, bearing the name of the favorite concubine, Zahrâ, were laid near the capital, to be paid for out of money bequeathed by another of the Khalif's women. For twenty-five years, ten thousand workmen, assisted by fourteen hundred sumpter-mules and four hundred camels, did everything to ren-

der it an incomparable dwelling-place ; a premium of four hundred *dirhems* was promised to whomsoever should settle there ; the palace of the Khalif, filled with the marvels of the east and west, rose in enormous proportions for the maintenance of a harem of six thousand women.

An admirable navy permitted Abderaman to dispute with the Fatimides the supremacy of the Mediterranean, and guaranteed to him the possession of the key of Mauritania, Ceuta. A numerous and well-disciplined army gave him a preponderance over the discordant Christians of the North. The emperor of Constantinople, the kings of Germany, Italy, and France, sent ambassadors to his court.

So many glorious results give evidence of a quiet and powerful intelligence which nothing escaped, which united delicacy of detail with sublimity of conception ; whose power of sagacious centralization was almost unlimited ; whose steady equipoise amid so much tumult, whose broad tolerance in calling men of an alien faith to its councils, were equally remarkable.

His son, Hacam II., who assumed the sovereignty after the death of Abderaman, was an accomplished *savant*. He was possessed by a passion for rare and precious books. Cairo, Bagdad, Damascus, were ransacked to fill his libraries ; he had agents everywhere, copying or purchasing for him ancient and modern books, at whatever price. His palace was a library and a workshop in which copyists, binders, illuminators abounded. The catalogue alone consisted of forty-four volumes, and the books, according to some, numbered four hundred thousand, all of which Hacam was said to have read and annotated. ! His authority in literary



A SERENATA AT CORDOVA.

THE  
NEW  
EDITION

history was absolute among the Andalusians, and Persian and Syrian authors were equally known to him, even long before any one else had seen or read them. Under his auspices, Abou'l-Farad prepared his magnificent work on the Arab poets and singers. His court was the focus of an intense intellectual activity. Primary schools flourished in his capital; nearly everybody in Andalusia could read or write, when persons even of the highest rank elsewhere in Christian Europe were grossly ignorant. Grammar and rhetoric were taught in the schools; Hacam himself founded twenty-seven schools in the capital for poor children, who received their education gratuitously. The great university of Cordova, frequented by thousands of students, had a world-wide celebrity and a host of distinguished teachers discoursed eloquently in the great mosque—used for the lectures—on theology and jurisprudence, on the traditions of Mahometanism and the poetry, proverbs, and language of the Arabians.

Hacam's short reign of fifteen years ended uneventfully in 976, when he expired in the arms of his two chief eunuchs Fâytic and Djaudhar, leaving one son Hichâm, behind.

The remaining years of this century (976–1002), however, are occupied not with Hichâm, but with his celebrated vizier, Almansor, the great adversary of the Christians, the desecrator of the famous mediæval shrine of Compostella in Galicia, the destroyer of Pamplona, Leon, and Barcelona; an Arab who almost annihilated Christianity in Spain, humbled the pride of the servants of Christ, and scattered the treasures of the church, accumulated for ages, to the winds. Of

his death, in 1002, a monk chronicles laconically: "In the year 1002 died Almanzor; he was buried in hell." The terror of his enemies, he was the idol of his soldiers; even the horses, says an Arabian author, seemed to understand their duty; it was seldom they were heard to whinny.

Almansor surpassed even Abderaman in power; his spirit was luminously practical, and delighted in projects for the amelioration of communications through the country, — bridge-building, opening of highways, and the like. His justice and fortitude — where his ambition was not concerned — were proverbial. During a sitting of the grand council on one occasion, he had his foot cauterized, while conversing tranquilly with his associates, who perceived the operation only by the odor of the burning flesh. Political considerations forced Almansor not to tolerate philosophers, though he pensioned poets in numbers. A superbly handsome, ambitious, and gifted student, he had risen by the favor of the Sultana Aurora to the highest position, and from the beginning, absorbed in the perusal of the ancient chronicles of his race, he foresaw, with the divination of genius, that he was to be an illustrious successor to the heroes they commemorated. He was major-domo of the palace at the time of Hacam's death, and for many years retained his own name Abou-Amir Mohammed, (Ibn-abl-Amir), before the assumption of the one by which he is generally known to history. He became Hâdjib, or prime minister, overawed the young Khalif by his commanding abilities, and, it is said, caused him to decay prematurely by encouraging him in unbounded license.

Thus Hichâm became a wretched figure-head, whose life was a perpetual torment and dread, who was gorgeously incarcerated in his own palace, and whose debauched sensibilities seemed at length capable of no emotion but fear. He was taken to the grand villa-city of Zahtra, newly built on the Guadalquivir, where he might be kept from influences alien to Almansor's interests, and where his reading of the Korân, his fasting, prayers, and debaucheries might be uninterrupted. At length it was even forbidden to pronounce his name.

We find Almansor reforming the military organization, calling in hosts of Berbers, and enrolling numbers of impoverished Castilians, Navarrese, and Leonese, whom he treated with infinite tact. He destroyed the ancient tribal division prevalent among his countrymen; attacked and slew his father-in-law, Ghâlib (981), commander-in chief of the forces, who had taken up arms in defence of the Khalif; was victorious on every side over the king of Navarre, Garcia Fernandez, Count of Castile, and Ramiro III. of Leon; and at the same time assumed one of those surnames previously borne by Khalifs alone, *Almansor billâh*, "aided by God," "victorious by the help of God," by which he was henceforth known. On one of his expeditions against the Christians, in 985, he carried forty poets to chant his victories, and returned covered with the glory of having burned Barcelona.

Insatiable of conquest, he darted upon the Christian principalities with the ferocity of a tiger, demolishing, plundering, devastating all before him. Yet he did not scorn himself to ply the trowel, saw, or pick-axe, when he began to extend and beautify the great mosque of

Cordova ; and did things so nobly and grandly that he excited raptures in his contemporaries. He slew his own son, the brave and brilliant Abdallâh, — a sparkling impersonation of Andalusian gayety and Arabian knight-hood, — when he discovered that he was conspiring against him.

“Never has an unfortunate implored thy pity in vain,” sang a poet of him ; “thy bounties and thy benefits are innumerable as the drops of rain.” Like others of his race, he doubtless had his slaves with their names derived from jewels, and his concubines, who, Arabian-fashion, delighted in the names of men.

Usurping successively the titles of *Saiyid* (lord) and *melic carîm* (noble king), reigning virtually for twenty years, he now (996), aspired to reign actually. The princes of the blood were either dead, in exile, or in misery ; his army, composed of a mosaic of varying blood and kindred, were devoted to him ; Hichâm, surrounded by the women of his seraglio, or going forth only with his head enveloped in a huge *burnous*, was a cipher. Everything seemed favorable. Yet the people loved Hichâm ; they hung affectionately, and with all the inclining conservatism of the Arabian nature, to the reigning dynasty ; and despite the glory and prosperity which he had brought to the country, they murmured ominously at Almansor’s arrogance. More powerful and implacable than all, Aurora — his Sultana-mistress, as some called her — turned against him. Almansor could not be Khalif — he could only remain the invincible vizier who suspended as lamps in the roof of the mosque of Cordova, the bells taken from the sanctuary of St. James of Compostella (save the eternal city, the

most renowned of the sanctuaries of the tenth century); who overthrew the power of Zîrri in Mauritania; and whose last act almost was the destruction of the shrine of St. Emilian, patron saint of Castile.

Suffering with an excruciating malady, he exclaimed; "Twenty thousand soldiers are inscribed upon my roll, but there is not one among them so miserable as I." Becoming superstitious in his old age, he carefully shook off and preserved the dust from the clothes which he used in his expeditions, because the Korán said that God will preserve from fire him whose feet are covered with the dust of the holy wars; and he gave directions that he should be covered with this dust at his death. His fifty campaigns against the Christians provided him amply with the sacred talisman. Worn to a spectre by suffering, he passed away in August, 1002.

Six years after (1008), Modhaffar his son, who ruled the kingdom as his father had done, died; he was succeeded by his brother Abderaman, hated for the Spanish blood that flowed in his veins—he was grandson of the count of Castile or the king of Navarre—and suspected of having poisoned Modhaffer by offering him half of an apple cut with a knife poisoned on one side. The unpoisoned half he is said to have eaten himself.

The desire for the downfall of the Amirides—the family of Almansor, whose representative Abderaman was now—became universal, and the more intense after Abderaman had prevailed upon the imbecile Hichâm to declare him heir to the throne. He even affected the characteristic coiffure of the turban which in Spain belonged exclusively to the lawyers and theologians; an outrage against religion and its ministers.

His power crumbled at a touch; Mohammed, great-grandson of Abderaman III., headed a rebellion which, in twenty-four hours, annihilated the power of the Amirides. The sumptuous fairy-land of the villa-city of Zahra was set on fire and reduced to ashes, after millions of gold and silver had been rifled from it. Abderaman — Sanchal as he is called — horribly expiated his crimes by indignities of every sort. "Behold Sanchal the Lucky!" shrieked a public crier, pointing to the hideous remains of the usurper nailed to a cross near the palace gate.

A period of anarchy ensued.

The Berbers and Castilians pillaged Cordova (1009) and Mahdi (Mohammed) was unable to lay the demon of democracy which he had called up in his efforts to ruin Sanchal. Lifted to the throne by a conspiracy, while Hichâm — the everlasting Jew of these never-ending revolutions — was still alive, he lay sword-slain at Hichâm's feet by another conspiracy (1010) instigated by the *Slavs* — a general name for foreigners of French, German, and Spanish nationality, either captured in war and utilized as soldiers and eunuchs, or sold to the Saracens by the trans-Pyrenean powers who had captured them in their expeditions. The Slavs, who ruled in several provinces, now became all powerful, and the Mussulman empire in their hands, a prey to civil war, went gradually to pieces. Cordova, thronged with thousands of workingmen, filled with inflammable material of every sort, the seat of an ancient aristocracy whose power had now passed away, abounding in wild-haired fanatics, Christians and Jews side by side with whom stood crowds of sceptical and

philosophic Arabs, who believed nothing unless it could be mathematically proved—Cordova gathered as in a burning glass all the uneasy intelligences of the country, all the growling discontent, all the fantasts and dreamers, who longed for democracy and radiated their revolutionary tendencies from its khans throughout the peninsula.

The glorious residence of Zahrâ, whose reputation was European, was razed to the ground; the glorious library of Hacam II., was sold to fill the exhausted treasure-chests of the state. Massacres at Cordova and elsewhere (1013), followed in the train of the Berbers whom Abderaman III. and Almansor had called into the land. The dissolution of the Khalifate, the splendid monument of a hundred years of lofty civilization, conquest, and culture, ushered in the new Khalif, the Berber Solaiman, whose sway extended to five cities (Cordova, Seville, Niebla, Ocsonaba, and Beja) alone, while the rest became independent under *Slav* or Berber chieftains. Whether Hichâm II. still lived or not was doubtful, but the *Slavs* continued to fight in his name. The women of his palace asserted that he had escaped to Asia.

Solaiman's enjoyment of power was of brief duration, for he was assassinated by the Berberized descendant of the prophet's son-in-law, Alî-ibn-Hammoud, governor of Ceuta and Tangier, who, though he scarcely understood the songs of the Arabians sung to him, favored the Andalusians in the beginning, but swore in the end to destroy their capital and exterminate its inhabitants.

His death in a bath in 1018, at the hands of three

slaves, freed the country from the realization of his threats.

During the next ten or twelve years, Khalifs and combinations succeeded one another with dizzying rapidity. The Khalifate, accelerating in its downward incline, rushed to its destruction with a velocity that was irresistible, and when it reached the end, shattered into a dozen fragments—republics, at Cordova and Seville, petty sovereignties in the East and South.

Abderaman IV. Mortadhâ, raised to the throne by Mondhir, governor of Saragossa and the Slav Khairân, a former ally of Ali, reëstablished for a while, as great-grandson of Abderaman III., the ancient dynasty of the Omayyades. He was soon killed by the emissaries of Khairân, since he was found too proud and spirited for the Slav's manipulation. The Berbers were henceforth masters of Andalusia.

The Cordovans (1023) now chose a son of Abderaman IV. as Khalif, who took the title of fifth of that name—a Khalif of seven weeks. He fell by the hands of Mohammed (1024), one of the still numerous Omayyade connection. His brief reign was memorable for his selection of Ibn-Hazin as vizier, the greatest scholar of his time, and the most productive writer Spain has ever produced. A graceful and exquisite poet, full of delicate gallantry and enthusiasm, "the chastest and most Christian" of Mussulman singers, an Arabized Spaniard, whose purity, delicacy, and spirituality sprinkled, as with a perfume, everything they touched, he fell from his lofty height, a guiltless Lucifer, leaving behind him in the Arabian annals a train of light.

Mohammed III., a guilty, vulgar, and inept assassin, was poisoned by an officer, after a short reign full of humiliations, and Cordova was for six months without a monarch. Then the people resolved to give the throne to a brother of Abderaman IV., Hichâm III., (1027), a stingy, mumbling, and ridiculous old man, whose deity was a good digestion, who stammered with embarrassment at his own receptions, and who crawled out of Cordova, covered with ignominy and shame, when his viziers, loathing his imbecility, published a manifesto to the Cordovans, abolishing the Khalifate in perpetuity.

Thus ended the kingdom of Cordova. Wrought out of many heterogeneous elements — snatched from the hand of the emissaries of the Khalif of the East in 755, by Abderaman I., elevated to a Khalifate under Abderaman III., in 929, its existence of nearly 300 years had been illustrated by great intellectual brilliance and innumerable vicissitudes. Cordova had become a city of sanctuaries and pilgrimages like Mecca and Medina. On the rude foundations of the Visigoths, whose rule from this distance seemed an incredible episode in Spanish history, so utterly had names, dynasties, and associations changed, had risen a race at once fierce and ethereal-tempered, poetic and sanguinary, polished and unscrupulous, who built fairy Alhambras, filled centuries with their music, and drowned cities in their blood. The Khalifate was a century-plant that bloomed once in a hundred years, and then fell into hopeless decay. Xeres de la frontera was avenged.

## CHAPTER V.

### SPAIN UNDER THE OMAIYADES.

**I**MMOBILITY has been truly said to be the distinct characteristic of the swarming tribes that traverse the arid deserts of Arabia with their tents and flocks. What they were yesterday, — last year, centuries ago — they are to-day, and will be to-morrow. The best commentaries on Arabian history and poetry of the times of Mahomet, are the travellers' stories, — Burckhardt's and Burton's descriptions of the Bedouins of to-day, unchanged in their manners, customs, and modes of thought since the Hégira. Intelligence, energy, poetic susceptibility, abound among these people ; but they do not wish to advance in civilization, to ameliorate their condition, to reform and revolutionize their immemorial code. Why should they ? "The Bedouin is the freest man on earth ;" he dispenses with government ; his tribe are all brothers, free, equal, and sympathetic ; and the chief is simply a commoner, exalted to that rank because he is stronger, braver, wealthier than the rest. All wear the same clothing, eat the same food, scorn the same money, live together on the booty of the day, and exemplify a philosophy of unconscious self-abnegation that is full of elements of grandeur. "Wealth comes in the morning and goes in the evening," says an Arab poet. His camels and his horses — no inch of soil enamelled by

the many-colored products of a refined agriculture — are his sole possession.

Equal among themselves, the Arabs esteem themselves infinitely superior to the toiler in the field, the artisan in his workshop, or the man of another race. Hospitality, gallantry, courtesy, poetic talent, spoken eloquence, are with them beyond mere ancestry; the "kings of the desert," as the Khalif Omar said, "are the orators and poets," while the dismal degeneracy of the human race comes out luminously in those who do not practice the Bedouin virtues." "Perfect" was the name formerly given to him who — being a Bedouin — harmonized with the poet's gift the virtues of valor, liberality, knowledge of writing, swimming, and bending the bow.

A noble origin — the memory of great men enshrined in pathetic and worshipping recollections — holds a great place with these simple folk; and before the advent of Islámism he was considered especially honorable, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather held successively the chiefship of his tribe. The Bedouin virtues thus became hereditary in certain families; these families were full of distinguished men; and the position they occupied got to be correspondingly lofty.

"Son of my brother," is the title which an old Bedouin will give to a young one; the two will live or die for each other, resent affronts to either as indignities to both, kill the last lamb for the sustenance of a friend, and are filled with a profound and unperishing affection for the men of their tribe. "Love your tribe," says one of their poets, "for you are attached to it by bonds stronger than those between a husband and a wife!"

H. S.—6

Contentment with his lot, hatred of change and amelioration; love of tranquillity, gayety, a careless and reverie-steeped life, such are the traits of the Bedouin as distinguished from our eternal restlessness, our aspiration after the infinite, our feverish and illusion-haunted existence, and progress in the direction of a clear, subtle, and thousand-hued civilization. The sphinx, the unchanging Korán, the immeasurable desert, are his symbols; motionless serenity is his ideal; lack of imagination, in its rich and comprehensive sense, is his cardinal defect.

Impetuous, fiery in their passions, the Arabs are the least inventive of nations. Mythology they had none, though the Kaaba of Mecca, with its mystical black stone, was filled with hundreds of representations of the heavenly bodies which they worshipped. The monotheistic religion of Mahomet was simply a compound of the existing systems and habitudes: paganism and Judaism blended in its ceremonial; reason was deified in its recognition of one God, and its exclusion of the supernatural; plastic art and physical manifestation were equally remote from its purified and colorless syllabus of religious principles. Realism predominates in the un inventive literature of the Arabians. Epic and dramatic poems — the great field of the supernatural with other races — are wanting with them; their narrative poetry is very defective; their descriptive power is confined to themselves and their own experiences; ideality is entirely banished from their over-heated brains, while an infinite expatiation through lyric and subjective moods, an endless variation on emotional and sensualistic themes, is the key-note of their voluminous verse.

If an imaginative tale of supposed Arabian origin, displays inventive power, this fact points like the needle to an Indian or Persian source. The *Arabian Nights*—that charming creation of some Bagdad story-teller of the eleventh century, possibly even of Greek origin—is Arabian only in those parts which reproduce real life and sparkle with anecdotes gathered from it. In science there is the same lack of creative power; admirable translators and commentators on the ancients, astute observers where they have had a leader, they have done little that is original. Development and progress cannot go hand in hand with so impassioned a yearning, after personal independence and reserve as they show; they have no political spirit, no consciousness of broad, socialistic instinct. They came to Spain, despite the enormous successes of the Mussulman arms, essentially the sons of the desert; an aggregation of tribes ready to pursue to the death their ancient feuds; unrefreshed and unenlightened by their vast travels, with the dust of Damascus, Persia, and the Indies on their feet; a race captive to hereditary prejudices, and ready to fight out, on the soil of Spain, the accumulated hates and grudges of hundreds of years.

Such was the character of the multitude of pagan tribes that peopled Arabia before their conversion from Sabaeism to Mahometanism. Arabia, itself too poor to attract a foreign subjugator, set in motion by a religious fanatic, sent forth an array of generals, who soon planted the green banner of Islám from the Ganges to the Tagus, from the Iaxartes to the Niger.

x And nothing is more remarkable than Mahomet's success. A nervous, delicate, impressionable constitu-

tion inherited from his mother, cast over his life the veil of a morbid and over-laden religious consciousness. A coward, a dreamer, a weeper of womanish tears from pure excess of nervous organization, tormented by vague inquietudes and epileptic seizures, unhealthy and un-Arabic to the last degree, his ascendancy over the brave, irreligious, unimaginative, and positive Arabs, is a subject of great interest. "Instead of praying five times a day, they never pray," says a traveller, even of the Bedouins of to-day. Their land, in Mahomet's time, was divided up between the followers of Moses, Christ, and polytheism. The Christians had learned from Christianity little more than the habit of drinking wine. The idolaters admitted one supreme God, Allah, — with whom the other divinities were intercessors, — and delighted in cheating their idols by sacrificing to them a gazelle instead of a sheep. The Jews, intensely intolerant and full of the spirit of persecution, were, perhaps, the only sincere and consistent sect of the peninsula. Wine, combat, play, and love, held the chief part in the life of the Arab, though he was far from being incapable of being wrought up, by religious enthusiasm, by a fine poem, or the recital of a noble deed, to passionate emotion.

Mahomet's mission was to transform, metamorphose, spiritualize a sensual, sceptical, and mocking race. Though reviled, treated with every infamy as a diviner, magician, fool, he succeeded in cleansing the Arabian pantheon of its three hundred and sixty divinities, instituting the worship of the true God, founding a great Khalifate which shone with serene glory at Damascus and Bagdad, while Europe was in night, and convincing

countless thousands if not of the truth of Islámism, at least of the irresistible might of its armies.

We see the peculiar administration of Islám firmly founded in the ten years' reign of the second Khalif, Omar; and the military system developed by his follower Osman, who caused all copies of the Korán, except those in the handwriting of Mahomet's wife, to be destroyed. Then we see Moawia, the fifth Khalif, and founder of the Omayyade dynasty, strengthening the internal administration, and transforming the elective, into an hereditary, Khalifate; his son Yezid desecrating the court of the Khalifs by hordes of singers and wine-bibbers; Abdelmelic, extending Islám from Carthage to the Indus, striking the first coins, and assimilating his administration more and more to Persian and Byzantine models; Wálid, the mightiest and most glorious of the Omayyade Khalifs, building the incomparable mosque of Damascus, and ennobling his reign by the noblest tributes to architecture, music, and poetry; and finally, the long line of Abbáside Khalifs bringing the glory of Moslem science, conquest, and experiment to its culmination in the figures of Almansor (753-775), Harún-ar-Râchid (786-808), and Al-Mamoun (813-833).

Spain became a new forcing-house for Arabian poetry, art, and science, especially when it became independent of the Eastern Khalifate in 755, under Abderaman I. The Khalifs of Cordova illumined the west as those of Bagdad did the east. Both Abderaman and his son Hichâm I., were gifted poets. Three hundred orphan children were educated by Abderaman II., in the mosque of Cordova, and the stories told of his powers of improvisation, his passion for music, and for con-

structing mosques, fountains, baths, and aqueducts, attest a versatile genius.

The times of Abderaman III., and his son Hacam, were, however, the golden age of Arabian culture in Spain. Scientific and artistic activity, refinement of manners, the essentials of a polite and comprehensive education, were then all but universal. The grandees imitated the example of their brilliant princes, and east and west were ransacked for teachers skilled in all the sciences of the day, in which their sons were to be trained. "If a fly buzzed over their heads," says an Arabian writer of the Khalifs of Bagdad, "they asked the advice of the famous scholar Ismael-ben-Casim," called to Spain by the alluring offers of Abderaman III.; and all were said to have been enchanted with Casim's striking gifts, his compositions, the nobility of his mind, and the grace of his deportment. Under his guidance, Hacam devoted twenty years to the accumulation of his inestimable collection. The Omayyade prince was a George III. in genealogies; and had the family tree of all the Arabs of the Spanish provinces at his fingers' ends. The wealthier scholars of the day assembled in winter in rooms perfumed with musk and amber, the floors covered with silken and woollen carpets, and sprinkled with rose-water, while groups of grave Mussulmans gathered around a cylinder of glowing coals in the centre, and discussed with Oriental subtlety, passages and verses from the Korán. Multitudinous meats, fruits, dates, and daintily prepared dishes of every sort were handed round, and fortified the strength of the company for new intellectual combats.

Such were the house and the social habitudes of Said, a *faqih* in Toledo, in the reign of Hacam.

Poetry was the quintessence of the Arab's life; vengeance, love, ambition, hospitality, all found their echo and idealization in that. The desert, the storm, the skirmish, the camel, gazelle, and barb; the praise of the sword and lance; the charms of the beloved, are mirrored in it in a series of minute but exquisite pictures artificially interwoven in verse of a singularly complicated structure. The gatherings at the sanctuary of Mecca, stimulated the rival poets; the "divine prose" of Mahomet, through the widely disseminated Korán, found numerous imitators, and the poetry of the Arabians began more and more to sing the praise of the prophet and his followers. The gorgeous court of Bagdad, with its Persian dances, pantomimes, and sports, its musical instruments and songs, its voluptuous life, and manifold intellectual energy, influenced these poets; they became *technique*-drivers, learned metrical grammarians; astronomers and jurisconsults. With physical slavery, the bondage of the soul went hand in hand. The poetry of nature congealed into a court poetry, then into a poetry of the schools.

The Moslem West was the "nerve" of these "else unfelt oppressions," and vibrated faithfully to the tunes struck in the East. The Spanish Arabs produced some of the most beautiful specimens of the poetic art, though the two most distinguished poets of the court were Spaniards. Abderaman's harem contained, also, three or four celebrated poetesses.

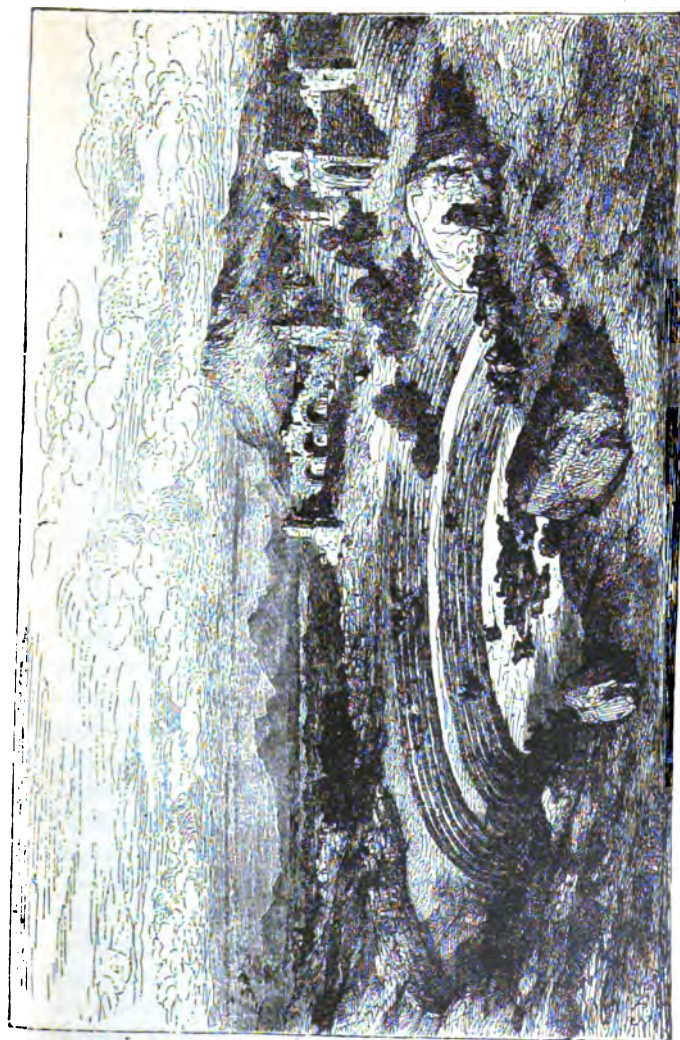
We find the Spanish Arabians delighting in poetic encyclopædias, "knots of jewels," "garlands of song,"

many-volumed works named after flowers and precious stones: The Bedouins were supreme purists; they were connoisseurs in matters of accent, purity of diction, and faultless rhythm; and their descendants in Spain cultivated the same virtues.

History was neglected among the Arabs, both Spanish and Oriental. Genealogists, compilers of anecdotes, anthologists, gleaners of celebrated events here and there, chroniclers of famines, pestilences, and droughts, men who enumerated the hours of a prince's life or reign while passing over the most important transactions in silence, abounded in Spain, and continued writing those moonlight rhapsodies characteristic of the desert, when, assembling his people about him, the Arab Sheik fascinated their simple minds by telling them the traditions and memories of the race, in a tone of mystic and rhythmic enthusiasm.

Al-Makkari in Spain, Abul-Feda, Makrizi, Ibn-Katib, and Siyooti, in Syria and Africa, made voluminous compilations and chronicles, all of which were destitute of critical spirit.

The Arab book-cases always swarmed with theological works, glossaries, commentaries, and legal treatises. The reign of Al-Mamoun (813-833), showed a rapid evolution of the science of astronomy out of the fancies of astrology; the precession of the equinoxes, the diameter of the earth, the obliquity of the ecliptic, were approximately determined in his reign, and the unsurpassed serenity of the Spanish and Arabian skies conducted peculiarly to observations of the stars. The first astronomical observatory on record, rose in 1196 at Seville, erected by Geber; but the conceptions of Arab



RUINS OF THE ANCIENT THEATRE OF MERIDA.

GOVERNMENT  
OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

astronomers were hampered by their adhesion to the system of Ptolemy.

Translations of the Greek geometers, of Euclid, Archimedes and Apollonius, for a time satisfied their craving for mathematics, but by the tenth century, they had begun to solve quadratic and cubic equations, and to investigate profoundly the laws of spherical trigonometry. Their skill in hydraulics is attested by the marvellous system of irrigation which they introduced into Spain, and which survives there to-day ; and even optics and hydrostatics were studied by them. They were famous physicians, and, later on, became deeply versed in the writings of Galen and Hippocrates. Medical treatises like those of Avicenna, Er-Razi, and Ali-ibn-Abbas, attained great celebrity, and but for a superstitious horror of dissection, surgery, as shown by their improvements in the lancet and the couching-needle, would have been successfully cultivated at their hands. Their knowledge of chemistry, obvious in the many terms which the Europeans have borrowed from them, — alkali, alcohol, alembic, and the like. — and in the apothecary's symbols, extended to many preparations of mercury, arsenic, metallic sulphates, and healing herbs. Their skill in metallurgy, in enamelling, in delicate manipulation of gold, silver, copper, and porcelain, is seen in the well-known Damascus blades, the wonderful vase of the Alhambra, and the jewelled dagger-hilts of the Khalifs. Writing paper is said to have been known at Mecca early in the eighth century ; the invention of gun-powder, which afterwards played so effective a part in Ferdinand and Isabella's campaigns against the Moors, is attributed by some to them. The pendulum

and a species of telegraph were claimed to have been introduced by the Arabs into Europe, with the silk cocoon, the sugar-cane, the date-palm, and the cotton-plant ; and to them the invention of the mariner's compass is attributed. Cordova became so celebrated for its preparations of leather, tanned by means of the bitter rind of the pomegranate, that it gave its name (Cordwain,) to the industry : and the name of Morocco no less is commemorated to the book-lover, in the binding of his books.

Their knowledge of music, save such crude instrumentation as they could draw out of their primitive tabor, harp, guitar, and flute, they derived from Persia, more especially after the foundation of Bagdad. Even the names of the majority of their musical instruments are Persian. A generous rivalry soon produced accomplished musicians and singers. Ziryâb built up a school of thorough musical artists at Cordova, whose renown equalled that of the Syrian masters. Music was scientifically treated, too ; the principles of the art, the modes of composition, and musical notation, with the notes indicated by letters, were investigated and discussed, and startling effects were produced on the susceptible Arabs by the songs and melodies of their *maestri*.

The development of their worship out of Sabaeism and star-worship, their original disinclination, under Omar, to literature, then the sudden dawning of the Arabian golden age at Bagdad, from the reign of Almansor (755), through that of his grandson, Harûn-ar-Râchid, and great-grandson, Almamoun (the former of whom never travelled, said Elmacin, without a hundred scholars in his suite, and attached a school for poor

children to every mosque) ; all these things showed, to a certain extent, a transformation of the flinty immobility originally characteristic of the Bedouin, and a capability of progress, if not in law and religion, at least in the less rigidly circumscribed sphere of intellectual effort.

The Nestorian Christians profoundly influenced the beginnings of Arabian civilization. The Jews of the Orient were celebrated for their academies and labors, initiating the Arabs into the profane sciences of antiquity. The director of the schools of the empire, under the cruel but enlightened Harûn-ar-Râchid was a Christian, deeply versed in Greek literature. "It is well known," said Almamoun, the Moslem Augustus, to his father, "that the most learned men are found only among the Jews and Christians." Caravans returned to Bagdad laden with precious manuscripts gathered by his command, and translation was pursued with such ardor that it became hereditary in certain families, even women busying themselves with it. Once translated, the originals were destroyed, to be replaced by new ones exacted of the Greeks by Almamoun as a sort of tribute. Six thousand pupils studied in the university of Bagdad. The eminently assimilative spirit of the Arabs borrowed alchemy from Egypt, geometry and astronomy from Greece, medicine and algebra from India, and philosophy and natural science, from the writings of Aristotle.

Meagre as the Arabian chronicles of Spain are, they are superior to the contemporary Christian chronicles, and fancifully-named as their "Golden Meadows" and "Full Moons" of history may be, cut up into an infinity of biographic details, they yet throw great light on an otherwise hopelessly obscure epoch.

In their poetry, "Night dialogues with Dawn," "Cypress with Zephyr," the "Nightingale with the Rose," there is boundless allegory;—an exquisite physical organization renders their poets easily intoxicated with harmonious sounds. "I thought of thee," cried one of their warrior-poets to his mistress, "while the lances were quenching their thirst in my sides, and the Indian swords were bathing in my blood; passionately I longed to kiss the swords whose sparkling flash recalled to me thy teeth when thou smilest."

The Arabian philosophers were truly "vassals of Aristotle;" they could disport themselves within his inflexible syllogisms when they could not apprehend the light and spiritual intelligence of Plato. A mania for argumentation, therefore, sprang up among them, often degenerating into a mere click-clack of meaningless words. The naked Korán was too plain; it must be encircled with a halo of fantastic allegories; its words, under the influence of the frivolous cabalistic studies of the Jewish philosophers reacting upon the Arabian, were commented upon with curious care; magic influences were extorted from the innumerable names of God and the angels contained in the sacred volume, and Arabian magic grew out of religion as astrology out of astronomy.

Averroes of Cordova (1198), Alfarabi (950), who was said to know seventy languages, Avicenna, and Alkhindi, were the most famous commentators on Aristotle. The search for the philosopher's stone and the transmutation of metals grew out of these studies. The Arabs really revolutionized medicine by substituting emollient remedies for the drastic purges of the Greeks; they knew

the applications of the moxa and treated small-pox intelligently ; and their botanists and geographers made immense collections of plants and observations. The purity and price of drugs were carefully looked into ; *naphtha, camphor, syrup, jalap*, etc., are claimed to suggest the intimacy of modern medicine with the works of the Arabian pharmacutists. The Arabic numerals substituted for the clumsy Roman ciphers, were said to have been brought from Cordova by pope Sylvester II. while studying at the university.

The circumference of the earth was fixed under Almamoun at about twenty-four thousand miles, and eclipses were studied with care. Frequent severe examinations held in public, took place at the Spanish universities. "The doctor's ink is as good as the martyr's blood," is a popular Arabian proverb showing the importance, later on, attached to learning.

To the brutal supremacy of a purely militant religion we thus see succeeding the calmer arts of peace and enlightenment. Cairo, Cairwan and Fez disputed with Cordova and Bagdad in the noble rivalry of letters, and the shores of the southern Mediterranean became an illuminated horizon to the dwellers in darkness and the shadow of death on the northern.

As "an appendix to this picture of civilization," came architecture and the kindred arts. Calligraphy, with its colored inks and brilliantly tinted parchments which reflected objects like a mirror, music suggested by the harmonious language itself, recitative in cadenced verse, the lute and mandolin with their musical airs written in circles, all showed the mathematical genius of the Arabs etherealized to a fine art.

Music is said to have reconciled Ar-Râchid with his favorite odalisque ; Alfarabi the Arabian Orpheus, executed before the sultan of Syria a piece of music whose first chords cast the sultan and his court into a flood of laughter, then made them burst into tears, and growing faint and fainter, plunged the whole assembly into a sweet and ecstatic slumber !

The people of Cordova were called to prayer from more than four thousand minarets ; long living together with Christians came gradually to soften the ferocity of manners ; the Christian church-bells rang their congregations to divine worship, and priests, nuns, and monks were allowed to appear in the streets in the dresses of their orders. Cursing Mahomet, and abusing his doctrine were alone forbidden under pain of death.



**THE GIRALDA, SEVILLE. (THE FIRST OBSERVATORY.)**  
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## CHAPTER VI.

### SPAIN UNDER THE OMAIYADES.

[CONTINUED.]

THE rapid conquests of Islām soon brought the Arabs to a knowledge of other lands, and along with these conquests went the building of great cities, the establishment of fixed abodes, and the cultivation of architecture. Immeasurable wealth resulted from these expeditions, which was employed largely in rebuilding the ruined dwelling-places of the conquered, under the superintendence of Greek, Persian, and Syrian engineers and architects. The sight of the noble structures of their enemies, roused emulation in the Arabs. The storm of conquest over, and permanent abodes having become necessary for the Khalif and his many governors, the simplicity and severity of the earlier followers of Mahomet yielded to the luxurious tastes of the later conquerors; splendid mosques and palaces sprung up; Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina gave evidence of the development of Moslem art; and the sumptuous mosque of Damascus—the glory of the Omayyade dynasty—rose as if by enchantment, in the early capital of the Eastern Khalifate. The grave of Mahomet at Medina, and his sanctuary at Mecca were embellished. But above all, the Damascus mosque (705–715), with its three aisles, its rows of red granite columns,

and red and green marble pillars, its dome of the eagle, its six hundred lamps of silver swinging by gilded chains, its golden-lettered *suras*, running on a ground of azure round the walls within, its triple minarets whence the muezzins called to prayer, and its four doors pointing to the four quarters of the world, served to show the dawning glory of Mahometan architecture.

The founding of Bagdad on the Tigris in 762, by Almanzor, — with its six hundred canals, its one hundred and five bridges, its ten thousand mosques and baths, its four-and-twenty thousand municipal divisions, its glorious green-domed palace, and the palace built by Almansor (through whose seven courts the Greek ambassadors were led in the first of which were a hundred lions, in the second a hundred giraffes, in the third and fourth, as many elephants and Arabian horses), — enormously stimulated the growth of architecture and all its co-ordinate branches. The translations of the mathematical writings of the Greeks at the same time gave the Arabs the key to many architectural and mechanical principles.

The founding of the Omayyade dynasty in the West, the favorable conditions by which it was accompanied, the beautiful land and climate of Spain, and the great caravans perpetually passing to and fro along the Mediterranean countries, bringing rumors of the splendors of the Abbâside dynasty of Bagdad; all this awoke keen interest and competition on both sides. Cordova became a second Bagdad; its noble monuments rivalled those of the east; its great mosque competed with Almansor's and its sprightly and mobile population became adepts in a picturesque and subtle refinement.

Abderaman I. is said to have laid the foundation of

the Cordova "Mezquita," about the year 786. It was intended to excel that of Bagdad in elegance, as those of Medina and Jerusalem excelled it in repute for holiness ; and it was to be the memorial of the Omaiayades in the peninsula. Abderaman worked an hour on it daily with his own hand, and expended more than one hundred thousand gold pieces in its construction, but he died before its completion. Succeeding sultans set aside special taxes and spoils to maintain its associated schools and hospitals ; its exquisite chapel is said to be due to Hacam, and "the glory of the Evening Land" was completed by the terrible Almansor.

The interior of the mosque is divided into forty-eight aisles, nineteen running from north to south, and twenty-nine from east to west. Nineteen great doors, now walled up, with one exception, opened from the lovely fountained court-yard in the direction of Mecca ; from a thousand to fourteen hundred columns of precious marble, porphyry, jasper, and *verd antique*, supported the horseshoe arches within ; plates of bronze, richly wrought, covered the doors ; mouldings in gold, ornamented the main entrance ; three gilded globes, surmounted by a golden pomegranate, rose above the summit of the cupola ; four thousand seven hundred lamps illumined the glowing darkness of the great sanctuary, and one hundred and twenty pounds of aloe and amber daily perfumed its spaces. Glass mosaic of curious delicacy and beauty, was used with effect in the emblazoning of the walls and arches, and perhaps the most exquisite thing of its kind in the world, is still the seven-sided chapel of Hacam, with its blinding marbles and its incomparable *alhamis* and mosaic.

The palace of Zahrá, built at enormous expense, five miles below Cordova, during the reign of Abderaman III., had no such lucky fate as the mosque. It was said to be rather a city than a palace if we can credit the statement that it was two thousand seven hundred ells in length and one thousand five hundred in width, while Africa, Greece, Spain, and France contributed to the thousands of marble columns, of every color, employed in its construction. The floors were laid with variegated stone, the walls clothed with marble, the hues of the rainbow played about the skilfully-wrought flagstones, the ceilings sparkled with gold and azure inlaid work, and the rafters were of larch-wood, delicately chiselled. Marble urns and shells filled with crystal water, cooled the larger apartments; a magnificent fountain of jasper from Constantinople, adorned the centre of the Khalif's hall, over which hung the matchless pearl presented by the Greek emperor to Abderaman. The mint and the mosque attached to the palace were celebrated. Immense gardens and orchards surrounded the palace, with groves of myrtle and laurel, and there were lakes overhung by pleasure-houses. The Khalif's pavilion of white marble, upheld by columns with gilded capitals, rose on an elevation of the garden, and in the centre was a porphyry fountain-shell, filled with quicksilver, of blinding brightness when moon or sun shone upon it, so that, "if he wished to surprise or terrify any one in his company, the Khalif would make a sign to one of his Slavonians to put the quicksilver in motion; the glare from which would strike the eye of the spectator like flashes of lightning, and alarm all present with the idea that the room was in motion, as long as the agitation of the quicksilver continued."

Marble baths of great solidity and elegance were found in the gardens, in which curtains, covers, and carpets of gold and silver stuff, artistically wrought with foliage, flowers, and animals, ministered to the pleasure and seclusion of the bathers. Travellers from the far East came to visit Zahrâ and declared that it was unique in its kind. The accounts left by the Arabian historians of the mosque of Cordova, which is so perfect to-day, are so accurate, that it would not be stretching credulity to an extreme to put faith in their descriptions of Zahrâ, the "Flower and Blossom" of palaces, which has utterly vanished from the face of the earth.

The shadows of palms and pomegranates overhung innumerable fountains erected by Abderaman II. and III.; a great aqueduct brought water to Cordova, and discharged it in a mighty reservoir guarded by colossal lions covered with pure gold and with jewels for eyes — "among the most astonishing performances of kings of any age." Love of water, of overshadowing verdure, of secrecy, of a reserved and intimate life, characterizes the Mussulman wherever he may be.

The domestic architecture was simple and graceful; enclosed and colonnaded courts, with a fountain in the middle; gayly-colored tiles, shadow-filled rooms, mosaic ornamentation, trellises of daintily-wrought iron, flowers, murmuring water. The exterior — for fear of the evil eye — was plain and unostentatious; echbes were avoided by careful construction; light percolated from above through lattices often filled with colored glass; and the houses in winter were heated by iron or burnt-clay pipes.

The Arabian style of architecture underwent a gradual development out of what might be called Arabo-Byzantine, through the Arabo-Moorish, to the quaint and fanciful Moorish proper. The simplicity of the Greek and Byzantine styles was too austere for the luxury-loving Arab: he added new forms and new wealth of adornment, with obvious reminiscences of Palmyra and Heliopolis; in fact his religion compelled him to make essential changes.

The round arch in his hands became horseshoe-shaped, now semi-circular, now pointed, symbolizing, according to Hartwell, the inverted crescent of Islâm; short, slender columns, placed singly or grouped on a common base, were introduced; arches resting on the capitals of the columns, and forming a projection over the impost, built over by a second series of narrower arches; flat doors almost unornamented, semi-circular or horseshoe-shaped windows of small size, walls embellished with mosaic and stucco, low roofs, especially to the dome-covered mosques, and slender minarets; such are some of the main features of the system.

The need of elaborate embellishment in the interior of their palaces and mosques soon showed itself; hence the evolution of that eccentric compound of mathematically formed foliage, flowers, geometric figures, hexagons and octagons, flower-stalks and brilliant colors intertwined and meandering to infinity, called *Arabesques*, so that the palace walls came to look like a "Cashmere shawl illuminated."

In the first period, Byzantine influence was dominant from the eighth to the tenth centuries; in the second, this influence vanishes imperceptibly: rich and peculiar

ornamentation invades the unimpassioned and symmetrical architecture of Greece and Rome with a torrent of imagery; and in the third, buildings seemed constructed solely for the arabesques.

Arabian baths in Gerona, Barcelona, and other places, and the mosque of Cordova, are the most perfect types of the first period, when the Moslems constructed their public buildings largely at the expense of antiquity, utilized their materials awkwardly, and aimed at sensational effects, produced by the sudden presentation of a multiplicity of columns—as in the mosque of Cordova—to the observer as he entered.

The *mihrab*, or chapel of this mosque, crowned by its perfect dome, and decorated with an ethereal elegance elsewhere unrivalled, is the best type of the second period, in its transition from the mosque of Cordova to the Moorish Alhambra. The horse-shoe arch vanishes more and more into the ogive; the Byzantine ornaments give way to costly decorations of more *recherché* form. Glass mosaic, or mosaic of colored paste, and sculptured marble, are withdrawn from the walls and half-orange domes; new combinations of regular figures made of enamelled *faience* take their place; Arabic inscriptions in marble or mosaic meander around the domes. Such are features of the Giralda tower, and the ancient mosque at Seville, the Alcázar at Seville in its older parts, the mihrab of Cordova, and the architecture of Tunis and Morocco.

The contact of the Spanish and African Moslems, under Abderaman III., and during the following centuries, after the dissolution of the Khalifate; the arrival of the fierce Morabites, under Yusouf, and their con-

flict with Alfonso VI., converted Arabian and Syrian Spain into a Moorish or African kingdom. The taste in art and architecture seems to have gone hand in hand with the political vicissitudes of the times.

The hills of Granada became the centre of a fantastic, but wonderfully original development in architecture, after the glory of Cordova had passed away. Extravagant pomp of adornment, vaulted roofs glistening with stalactitic pendants, walls cased in a dazzling armor of many-colored *faience*, arched galleries hung between pillars like stucco draperies and blossom-garlands, courts filled with slender-throated pillars that arrange themselves in multifold combinations before the eyes of the beholder, geometric ceilings, star-shaped, blazing with representations of the heavens in gold and tint, domes and cupolas uplifted on airy pillars, too slight for their burdens; in short, an architecture whose object seems to be to realize a *hasheesh* dream, and build over great spaces of golden sunlight, wherein voluptuaries, enshrined as it were in the irradiation, might dream away a life-time of fantastic reverie, and have but to look above to see their visions incarnated.

The Arab architecture literally blossomed itself to death, and the Vermilion towers of the Alhambra, with their walls eighteen feet thick, were its burial place. —

The basis of the Mussulman legislation is the Korán, and it is due to the immutability of this volume that this legislation has not changed in 1200 years. What strikes an observer in the system, is the omnipotence of a code that embraces everything, from health to the hours of Paradise; its absolutism, and the predominance of the religious principle in it. Proselytism was

the essence of the endless migrations and conquests of the Arabs, and though other religions were tolerated under the shadow of Islám, it did not borrow even the slightest ceremonial from any of them after it had once hardened into the inflexible organization left by Mahomet. High-priests, sovereigns, legislators, judges, and generals, in one, his followers during the Khalifate, concentrated powers of every sort in a single hand, and that hand wielded the sceptre of God's vicegerent. A perpetual confusion hence arose between their religion and their law, the changelessness of the one affected the other, and, while the people themselves developed, not a syllable of the Korán changed from the foundation of the earliest Khalifate. The text of the Korán itself, and the *sunnas*, or traditions, are the two-fold pillars upon which the Mussulman law rests. The *sunnas* supplement the Korán, consist of precepts gathered by tradition from the mouth of the prophet, and have been overlaid by the countless commentaries of the four great orthodox Mussulman doctors, Haneefah, Melec, Shafei, and Hannbal. It is said of Haneefah, that while in prison he read the Korán seven thousand times! Turkey, Tartary, and Hindostan, are the present seats of his doctrine more especially; Melec's doctrine ruled in Spain; Shafei's in Arabia and Egypt; and Hannbal's in certain corners of Arabia.

The Mahometan heretics are more numerous than the true believers; the four orthodoxies are combated by as many heterodoxies: those who deny the eternity of God's attributes as incompatible with the unity of God, predestination, eternal punishment, and the Korán; the stubborn defenders of these doctrines as essential

to the divine essence ; the rebels, or those who separated themselves from Ali after the battle of Schiffen, and slew the prophet's son-in-law ; and, lastly, the fanatical partisans of Ali, whom they revere almost equally with his father-in-law. These latter (Shiites) and the *Sunnites*, as represented by the Persians and the Turks, hate each other far more than they hate the infidels.

*Adoration and good works* are the fundamental divisions of the law ; but their sub-divisions are almost infinite and it will be impossible to follow them out in detail. The system tolerated polygamy (to the extent of four wives for a free man) and concubinage, already sanctioned in the countries whence Islāmism sprang ; it allotted an inferior position to women, permitted divorce, assigned extensive power to the father (though a son was not a *thing*, as in the Roman law, and his life was not in his father's hands), and recognized slavery, though far more mercifully and humanely, than the Roman or the Christian Goth. Emancipation was a meritorious act ; slavery was not inflicted as a legal chastisement ; and liberty was gained by conversion to Islām : a great blessing to the majority of Moslem slaves, who were Christians. Islām therefore was undeniably more patient and gentle than either antiquity or many modern nations, in its attitude toward these unfortunates. Usury was condemned. Property in the modern sense existed originally neither for the Moslem nor for his tributary, since all was the Khalif's, and the Khalif was God's lieutenant. But, little by little, the feoffs pledged by the Arab chiefs at the conquest of Spain, became hereditary, and property "belonging to God and the State," was freely transmitted. The sovereign disposed in the

name of Allah of the fortunes and lives of his subjects, and thus instability and uncertainty, resulting from vague generalizations, kept the whole of Moslem society in continual uneasiness.

The law tolerated retaliation, blood-vengeance, and commutation by fine; eternal vengeance pursued murderers; suicide was made infamous; theft was punished by mutilation, though by degrees this horrible retaliation was converted into imprisonment or the bastinado. "The rod," says the Korán, "is an instrument descended from heaven." Adulterers were stoned to death, though this happens but rarely now; infanticide, recognized in the codes of Sparta, the laws of Solon, at Rome, and under the empire, was an abomination to Mahomet, who insisted on the sacredness of human life. Eighty lashes reminded the wine-bibber of his guilt, if his breath betrayed him.

The organization of the Moslem judiciary was in outline as follows: The dignity *cadi* or judge was of special sacredness in the eyes of Mahomet. The *cadi* must be distinguished by purity, impartiality, rectitude, and knowledge of the law and theology. He was without regular salary; his decisions were irrevocable and without appeal; simony or bribery in him were punishable with removal; receiving of presents, communication with the parties, influencing of witnesses, and decision in favor of his own relations, were forbidden.

A supreme tribunal, called the *cadi* of *cadis*, constituted a court of highest instance which in doubtful cases judged the process, the sentence and the judge. Appeal was in certain cases allowed to the sovereign. The testimony of slaves or infidels against Mussulmans was

not valid. The *cadi* was assisted by a sort of consultative jury who were present at trials and gave their advice when asked. The numerous descendants of the prophet — a “nation within a nation” — enjoyed certain privileges supervised by a *nakib*, or protector.

Such are some of the cardinal points of the Mussulman law as laid down in the commentators, who have developed a complicated organism out of the germs contained in the Korán. Reminiscences of it survive in Christian Spain even to-day, and the language is full of words derived from the Arabic designations.

The regular revenues of the state under the Omayyades, seem to have been equal to about forty million dollars, from which are excluded extraordinary levies in case of war or for public buildings.

The wealth and prosperity of the country under this dynasty have been called fabulous. The population increased daily. The kingdom was full of manufactories for silk, cotton, and cloth; the cultivation of indigo and the cochineal, the production of beautiful *faience*, the introduction of paper into Spain in the twelfth century, the substitution of linen for cotton in the dress of the fastidious Arabs, the working of the mines of gold, silver, and mercury, the sifting of the auriferous sand of the Darro in the Vega of Granada, the discovery of precious stones at Malaga and Beja, of coral on the coast of Andalusia, of pearls at Tarragona, and the utilization of the wonderful salt mines of Catalonia, which produced the finest salt in Europe, brought the country to a high state of prosperity.

Agriculture had made immense progress; exotic plants were introduced in numbers; the balmy flowers

of the Orient, as much prized for their beauty of form and color as for their perfume, spiced the air. Abderaman wrote an exquisite poem on the palm, which he introduced, and which came to grow in tens of thousands near Elche. The Spanish rice and saffron are memorials of Arabian care for foreign products. Valencia, the picturesque Vega of Granada, — thirty leagues of orange and olive gardens, watered by five rivers, — and the basin of the Guadalquivir, with its thousands of villages, became lovely oases endowed with a matchless fertility.

Under Hacam the most illustrious *sheiks* gloried in cultivating their own gardens; the *cadis* and *faqis* delighted in the shadow of their own vines. In the spring and autumn the country seats were filled with brilliant figures — merchants, townspeople, students — leaving the towns and cities, to pass a few months in the sylvan solitude of the *sierras*. Vast herds of cattle and sheep kept up the recollections of the desert, by their wanderings from province to province in search of pasture as the seasons changed. The shepherds thus kept up an errant manner of life, which, from unknown antiquity, had been peculiar to Irac, Chaldaea, and Egypt, and at the same time maintained the reputation of the Spanish fleeces as the best in the world.

Arabian conquest had been rendered easy by means of the roads already traced out by the innumerable caravans crossing and re-crossing the peninsula to India, Persia, and the Sahara; and these conquests necessitated the establishment of fleets, to maintain the Musulman power in the southern Mediterranean.

The establishment of rival dynasties of Abbâsides

and Omaiyaes, in the East and the West, much as their khalifs despised each other, could not crush out the strong commercial instincts of the people. Silk, wool, oil, sugar, amber, cochineal, iron, and the finely-tempered arms of Toledo and Cordova, were exchanged for the luxuries, slaves, and spices of Syria and the Indies. Great mercantile ports like Barcelona, Valencia, and Almeria, became the mediums of communication with Europe and Africa, uninterrupted even after the fall of the khalifate. A thousand merchant vessels, it is said, sprinkled the sea with the countless yield of the new conquests.

Beautiful Greek slaves, skilled in music and dancing, peopled the harems of the Orient and were a source of wealth to the Andalusian merchants. Eunuchs to guard the harems — chiefly Europeans and negroes — were manufactured in hundreds at Verdun and sent to Cordova to form part of the Khalif's guard.

The prodigious fertility of the country is said to have supported a population at this time correspondingly great. Under Augustus the population of Spain was claimed to be seventy millions, and Spain itself was called "the country of the thousand cities." The cities were numerous, especially along the eastern and southern coasts, nearest to Carthage and Rome. Moslem superstition objected to a census; hence we cannot determine more than approximately what the population was at the height of the Omaiya dynasty. The Almoravide Yusouf boasted that the *chotbah* was recited for him from nineteen thousand pulpits. The frequent famines go to prove indirectly the populousness of the land. The vassal population was very large; Christians

abounded at Toledo, Córdoba, Mérida, and Barcelona, and Jews in great numbers were settled in Spain, and are found interested in all the seditions against the the Khalifate.

Perpetual war against the Christians—the “holy war”—was considered eminently praiseworthy in the sight of Allah. The usual tolerance of the Mussulmans here snapped violently asunder, and religious hate, accompanied by frightful devastations, led to sanguinary encounters through seven centuries. Both slaves and Christians, however, were numerous in the Mussulman armies. The Khalif's body guard, twelve thousand strong, for the most part foreigners, were the only professional soldiers ; a corps blazing with costly arms and gold, instituted for the personal defence of the sovereign alone and devoted to his interests.

The institutions of chivalry were peculiar to Christian Europe, and hardly appeared among the Mussulmans till the downfall of the Omayyades ; jousts, tourneys, tilts of reeds, were favorite sports of the Arabs ; broadsword, lance, bow, and mace, were the arms of the Andalusians. Groups of turbaned warriors, seated on high, richly-mounted saddles, with distinguishing colors for each tribe, and clad in fluttering mantles, dashed gallantly on the heavy Christian cavalry and often put it to rout. The Arabian horsemanship was famous. In 1022, a sort of national guard, composed of burgher militia, was formed for the protection of the cities, streets, and quarters.

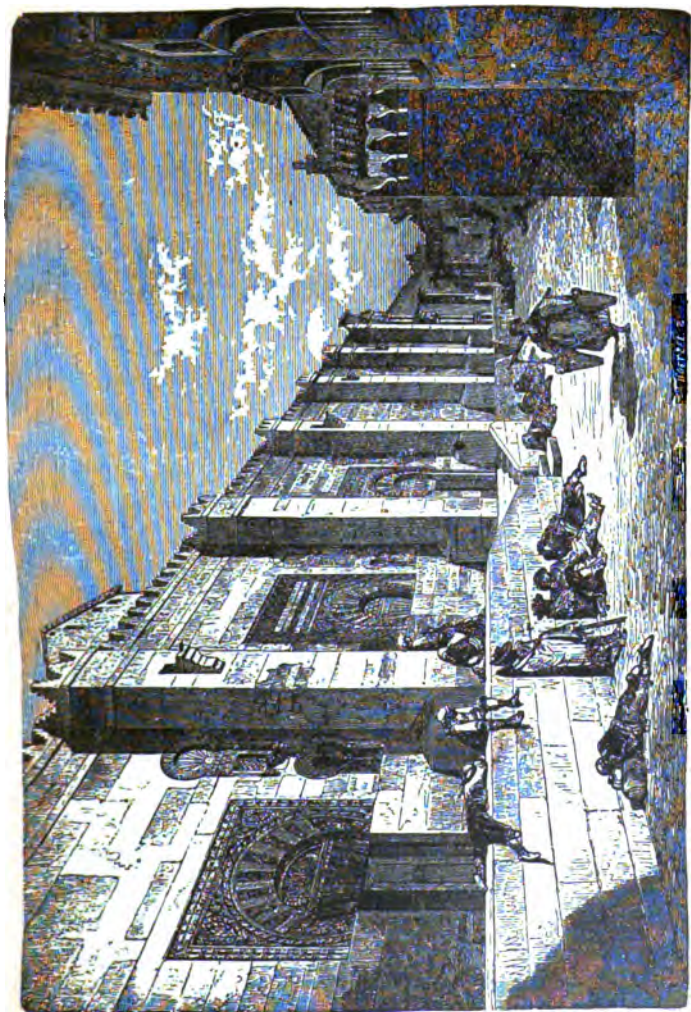
*Islám*, “perfect resignation of soul and body to the will of God,” is the quintessence of Mahometan fatalism, and its atmosphere pervades the whole system, from

one end of it to the other. The Mahometans form a vast family despotically ruled by God's deputy, the Khalif; in him religious and political chiefship alike are centred, and a pure and absolute despotism is the result. Blind submission belongs to the sovereign; and his power cannot be divided with another sovereign. "The prophet's scabbard," said Mahomet, "might as well have contained two swords, as his empire two kings."

The prime minister, or *hâdjib*, was the most direct deputy of the Khalif, and that his power could become great and terrible we see in the case of Almansor, *hâdjib* of Hichâm II. He was the first subject of the kingdom and owed his elevation entirely to the caprice of the sovereign.

The principal dignitaries after the *hâdjib* were the lieutenants of the provinces, who held in their hands all civil and military functions. *Emir* or *Amil*, was the name given to them; they had under them twelve governors of the twelve principal cities, and twenty-four viziers (burden-bearers). Then came the chiefship of the Khalif's guard, ordinarily entrusted to some member of his family; the commanders of the cavalry and infantry; the *alcaldes*, or governors of fortresses, and the *sheiks*, or tribal chieftains, who still maintained the patriarchal empire and classifications of the desert.

The chief civil magistrates, in a system in which the functions of citizen and soldier were but confusedly perceived and discriminated, were the *cadi* or judge, the *musti* or counsellor, the *ulemas* (scientific body), and the *faqis* or jurisconsults (both of which last classes were charged with the religious and judicial instruction of



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youth); and the market inspectors, tax-gatherers, and tax-distributors.

The *divan* or council of state of the Khalifs, was a purely consultative body; but under the Andalusian Omayyades it took cognizance of the army, of imposts, and of the administration of the finances.

A civil and religious police growing out of the continual confusion between law and religion existed side by side; the first a body who watched over the public security, weights and measures, the professions, commerce, roads, and markets; the other, more or less inquisitorial, and devoted to the domain of conscience.

All power is thus seen to emanate directly from the Khalif, through a complicated hierarchy of delegated servants; all rights descend from, none ascend to, the Khalif, who is the apex of the pyramid. There is no regular clergy, for the head of the state is equally the head of the faith and its supreme interpreter, and those beneath him hold merely spiritual lieutenancies. All functions are temporary, revocable at his will; there is no notion of representation on the side of the *people*, though the *Khalif* is minutely and omnipresently represented.

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*Chronological Table from the Berber Conquest to the Fall  
of the Omayyades.*

KINGDOM OF CORDOVA.

- 711-755. Spain governed by Emirs dependent on  
Damascus.  
755-788. Abderaman I.  
788-796. Hichâm I.

- 796-822. Hacam I.  
 822-852. Abderaman II.  
 852-886. Mohammed I.  
 886-888. Mondhir.  
 888-912. Abdallâh.

## KHALIFATE OF CORDOVA.

- 912-961. Abderaman III.  
 961-976. Hacam II.  
 976-1009 (?) Hichâm II. (Almansor — Modjaffar —  
 Abderaman *hâdjibs*.)  
 1009-1010. Mohammed II. Mahdi.  
 1010(?)—1016. Sôlaimân.  
 1016-1018. Ali-ibn-Hammoud, } Alcasim- { Edriside  
 1018(?)—1023. Abderaman IV., } Yahïa, { dynasty.  
 1023-1023. Abderaman V.  
 1024-1025. Mohammed III.  
 1025-1026. Yahïa (second time Khalif).  
 1027-1031. Hichâm III. (Last of the Omaiïades.)
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- 1085-1109. Almoravide Conquest. (Battle of Zallaca.)  
 1106. Death of the Almoravide Emir Yousof.
- 
- 1130-1163. Almohade Conquest.  
 1162. Death of Abdelmoumen.  
 1163-1184. Almohade Emir Yousof.f. (Battle of  
 Alarcos.)  
 1195. Emir Yacoub.  
 1199-1213. Emir Mohammed. (Battle of Las Navas.)  
 1213-1236. Decline and fall of the Almohade Empire.  
 1247-1492. Emirate of Granada as vassal to Castile.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CHRISTIAN SPAIN TO THE ALMORAVIDE CONQUEST.

THE first hundred years after the Berber conquest have a three-fold importance, and were filled with events which controlled and moulded the destinies of the country, down to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Such were the founding of a new Christian kingdom in the Asturias, the founding of an independent Arabian power at Cordova, and the establishment of the Frankish March in the north-east of the peninsula.

The fatal battle of the Guadalete, in 711, which legend has illuminated with the glitter of Roderic's golden sandals and at which the last of the Goths laid down his crown and life; opened the peninsula to the Moslem hordes, who penetrated and conquered every part of it except the narrow strip of the Asturias. (The Asturian and Cantabrian mountains had always been a barrier insurmountable to conquest.) Phenicians and Carthaginians had failed in their attempts to subjugate the invincible mountaineers of that region; it cost Rome two hundred years to break their spirit; and the Goths succeeded, only after repeated attempts, in establishing themselves in those districts. To this inaccessible nook the Christians fled, betrayed by their own people and scandalously routed by a handful of barbarians.

In this case *ex septentrione lux*; for out of this germ developed the principalities of Christian Spain which spread along the Pyrenees to Barcelona, extended westward to Galicia and Portugal, and in little more than a hundred years covered the whole north of Spain.

Intimately connected with the beginning of this new power is the legend of Pelagius, the Don Pelayo of Spanish story, reputed son of the Fafila, Duke of Cantabria, who, banished from court by Egica, was slain in Galicia by Witica. Pelayo fled to the mountains of Cantabria, then returned from banishment, served Roderic as sword-bearer, survived the disaster of the Guadalete, and retreated, with a remnant of his followers, to Asturias. Here he founds a little kingdom close upon the confines of the Moslem power; he hides in caves, bursts from time to time victoriously forth on the hosts of Alchama, the Moslem governor, fills the river Deva with the arms and bodies of the misbelievers, is proclaimed king by the enthusiastic Asturians, reigns nineteen years, and is buried in Cangas by the side of his queen Gaudiosa.

Such is but one of the countless legends that hang, thick as vines, about Pelayo and his doughty deeds. It is perhaps hopeless to attempt a reconciliation of the contradictions existing between the statements of the Arabian and Christian chronicles concerning him. All we know is that, for whatever reason, Pelayo's name became celebrated among his immediate successors as the heroic founder of the new Asturian kingdom, and his memory glorious as the first national champion of regenerated Spain.

The two years' reign of Fafila, his son, was tragi-

cally closed in an encounter with a bear. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Alfonso I., who united the whole sea-coast of Cantabria, as far as the Basque country, with the realm to which he had been newly elected, and triumphantly maintained the reputation of the Christian arms. We find him building churches and cloisters, laying out new towns, winning the love of his people by his wisdom and valor, acquiring the surname of "the Catholic" by his piety, reigning eighteen years with skill and conscientiousness, and even after death in possession of a wonder-working body.

His reign emerges from the general obscurity of the rise of the kingdom of Leon and Asturias as one of singular importance. The kingdom under him showed a sudden growth, attributed by the Latin chronicles to Alfonso himself, who with his speck of a principality, miraculously beat the Mussulmans, captured numbers of cities, and pushed back the enemy over the Duero, Mondego, and Tagus. The Arabian chronicles, with greater probability, attribute the sudden growth of Alfonso's power to two very intelligible causes; a civil war among the Mussulmans themselves, and a frightful famine.

The conquerors settled in the provinces adjacent to Asturias were not Arabs but Berbers, who were solidly established in every town in Galicia, and were the true conquerors of the peninsula. The Arabs, however, their bitter foes, had appropriated the choicest portion of the booty, kept the lovely and opulent fields of Andalusia for themselves, and banished Târic and his Berbers to the sterile plains of La Mancha, Estremadura, and the precipices of Leon, Asturias, and Galicia. The Arabs

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themselves treated their Berber allies with the greatest cruelty ; scourged and tortured them when they had ransomed Christians, and cast them into filthy dungeons swarming with animalcules, there to linger and languish.

Hence the intense irritation of the Berbers of Spain against the Arabs, which was envenomed still further by a religious and political insurrection that broke out in Africa, now ferociously oppressed by the Arabs. The insurrection spread to Spain, broke out in Galicia, communicated itself to the whole of the north except Saragossa, where the Arabs were in the ascendant, and ended in the temporary defeat and expulsion of the Arabs. Then the Berbers of Galicia, Merida, Coria, and Talavera marched against the south, where they were beaten ; a five-years' famine (750) decimated their ranks, and the majority resolved to emigrate from Spain. Their embarkation took place from the river Barbato ; hence these disastrous years are called by them " the years of the Barbato."

Tyranny, religious persecution, and hunger, therefore, were Alfonso's ablest allies in these early struggles. The Galicians profited by the emigration to rise against the remnant of their oppressors in 751, and recognized Alfonso as their king. The traces of the Mussulmans vanished from the regions they had so lately inhabited ; the apostate Christians returned eagerly within the pale of the church, and in 753 the retiring barbarians evacuated Braga, Porto, and Viseu, leaving the whole coast beyond the mouth of the Duero, liberated from their yoke. Unable to maintain themselves in Astorga, Leon, Zamora, Ledesma, and Salamanca, they retreated on



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Coria and Merida. In the east they abandoned Saldaña, Simancas, Segovia, Avila, Miranda on the Ebro, and Oca ; so that Coimbra in Portugal, Talavera and Toledo on the Tagus, and Guadalaxara, Tudela, and Pampelona became their principal frontier cities, running from west to east.

This was the manner in which the Mussulman domination, after an occupation of forty years, narrowed more and more, and concentrated itself in the fertile and beautiful regions of the south and east. Alfonso did not conquer these numerous and strong cities: they were abandoned, and welcomed the Christian champion with open arms. He even profited little by all these advantages ; put the remaining Mussulmans to the sword ; carried off the Christian populations to re-people the devastated north ; and occupied, of all the abandoned territory, only old Castile (then called *Bardulia*), the coast of Galicia, and perhaps the city of Leon. The rest was left a desert which formed an admirable natural barrier between the Christians of the north and the infidels of the south. Even large cities like Astorga and Tuy waited a century (850) before they were re-peopled under Ordoño I.

In the neighborhood of Astorga and Leon, nevertheless, the Berbers maintained themselves for nearly a century. The country they inhabited, which formed part of the *Campi Gothici*, was baptized by Christian horror with the name of *Malacoutia* (Mala Gothia), "servants of the devil and sons of perdition." Their Christianization was always suspicious, and after a thousand years their stammering Spanish, shaven crowns, customs, dress, and accent, show these *Marago-*

*tas* (malagoutas) muleteers, to the southeast of Astorga, to have the narrowest of affinities with their Berber brethren in Africa.

The conquest of Narbonne from the Arabs, by Pippin, in 759, made an end to Arabian influence on the other side of the Pyrenees, and opened the peninsula to his mighty son, Charlemagne. Charlemagne crossed the mountains by way of Aquitania and Navarre, overwhelmed Pampelona, whose walls he levelled on his return, received the homage of the Arabian governor of Oca, and when on the point of capturing Saragossa, was recalled by a new insurrection of the Saxons. In the narrow pass of Roncesvalles the Basques, headed apparently by Duke Lupus of Aquitania, cut the rear guard of the withdrawing army to pieces. Eggihard, the presider over the royal table, Anselm the Palgrave, and Roland of the Wonder-Horn, Margrave of Brittany, fell in this celebrated conflict, immortalized in song and legend. The absence of the Franks soon caused Abderaman to reoccupy the land between the Ebro and the Pyrenees.

Connected with the same episode, whose success was attributed to him, is the musical and romantic legend of Bernardo del Carpio, the bastard son of Doña Ximena, sister of Alfonso the Chaste, and Sancho Diaz, Count of Saldaña; a legend filled with improbabilities, reckless of dates, and yet replete with the delicate grace of the Spanish ballad.

"The Count Don Sancho Diaz, the Signior of Saldane,  
Lies weeping in his prison, for he cannot refrain.  
King Alfonso and his sister, of both doth he complain,  
But most of bold Bernardo, the champion of Spain!"

According to the chronicle (pursues the chronicler of one of the episodes of his life), Bernardo, being at last wearied out of all patience by the cruelty of which his father was the victim, determined to quit the court of his king and seek an alliance among the Moors. Having fortified himself in the castle of Carpio, he made continual incursions into the territory of Leon, pillaging and plundering wherever he came. The king at length besieged him in his stronghold, but the defence was so gallant that there appeared no prospect of success; whereupon many of the gentlemen of Alfonso's camp entreated the king to offer Bernardo immediate possession of his father's person, if he would surrender his castle. Bernardo at once consented, but the king gave orders to have Count Sancho Diaz taken off instantly in his prison. When he was dead, they clothed him in splendid attire, mounted him on horseback, and so led him towards Salamanca, where his son was expecting his arrival. As they drew nigh the city the king and Bernardo rode out to meet them; and when Bernardo saw his father approaching, he exclaimed, "O God! is the Count of Saldaña indeed coming?" "Look where he is," replied the cruel king, "and now go and greet him whom you so long desired to see." Bernardo went forward, took his father's hand to kiss it; but when he felt the dead weight of the hand, and saw the livid face of the corpse, he cried aloud, and said, "Ah, Don San Diaz, in an evil hour didst thou beget me! Thou art dead and I have given my stronghold for thee, and now I have lost all!"

Froila I. ascended the throne on the death of his

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father Alfonso I. He is said to have founded Oviedo and to have been a successful and valiant captain against the Arabs, fifty-four thousand (?) of whom succumbed to him at Pontumium in Galicia. The murder of his own brother Vimaran, brought about his assassination at the hands of the *grandees*, in 768. They chose in his stead Aurelio, son of Froila, Alfonso I.'s brother, who reigned six years, and left few traces behind. Silo, husband of Adosinda, daughter of Alfonso I., followed with a peaceful reign of nine years, and died without issue in 783. Alfonso II., son of Alfonso the Catholic, was now proclaimed king, though for six years pushed aside by his half-brother, Maurecat, an illegitimate son of Alfonso the Catholic, who died in 789. Alfonso was then proclaimed king for the second time, the first time having been at the instigation of his aunt, Adosinda, who, instead of taking the veil as the widow of Silo, according to an ancient custom sanctioned by a council, hoped, by establishing her young nephew on the throne, to rule herself. After a two years' reign he was dethroned by the church-deacon Bermudo I., one of his relations, and incarcerated in a cloister. The monk was everywhere defeated by the victorious troops of Hichâm I. Alfonso was drawn out of his retreat, and Bermudo suddenly remembered that he could not be king as he had taken orders. The Mussulmans pillaged and destroyed Alfonso's capital (794),—probably Oviedo, though Silo and Maurecat had resided elsewhere,—undertook another successful raid in 795 under Abd-al-carim,—who destroyed the capital again and inflicted enormous losses on the "polytheists" (Christians),—and were brilliantly repaid by Alfonso's capture

and pillaging of Lisbon in 796, and the dread which he inspired by his alliance with the formidable Charlemagne. Charlemagne's death in 814 left the imperial throne vacant. It was filled by his son Louis, who caused his second son, Pippin, to be crowned king of Aquitania, which included Aquitania proper, Vasconia, Toulouse, Carcasone in Septimania, and Autun, Avalon, and Nevers in Burgundy. The *Spanish March*, founded in the northeast of the peninsula by the Franks, was separated from this new kingdom and erected into an independent duchy whose capital was Barcelona. The count of Barcelona under the Frankish administration became also duke of Septimania, and recognized only the emperor and his eldest son as his lords.

Alfonso II., called the Chaste, after a reign of half a century, during which he distinguished himself by his piety and vigor, died in the repute of having been the founder of the great Spanish sanctuary of Santiago, at Compostella, in 829. In his day was discovered the burial place of the Apostle James (Iago), whose body, after his martyrdom in Palestine, was believed to have been brought by his devoted followers to Spain and buried on the coast of Galicia. Wondrous radiance and visions of angels over the consecrated spot revealed the tomb to the Bishop Theodomir, who hastened to the king with the joyful intelligence; and the exemplary monarch forthwith built a church for the reception of the relics, richly endowed it with lands, and removed the episcopal see of Iria to the new foundation.

The building up of church and state thus went on slowly and laboriously, from decade to decade, in the

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infant kingdom. The overthrown cross was set up again ; iron priest and dauntless warrior fought side by side against the common foe ; the destroyed temple was rebuilt ; the devastated field recultivated ; the ruined town rehabilitated. Thus it continued in the brief but stirring reign of Alfonso II.'s cousin and successor, Ramiro (842-50), who quelled many conspiracies against himself ; defeated and burnt seventy ships, belonging to the Norman pirates, on the coast of Galicia ; consigned wizards to the flames, put out the eyes of robbers, built monasteries, contended successfully against Abderaman's armies, and won for himself the name of "the Rod of Justice."

" A cry went through the mountains when the proud Moor drew near,

And trooping to Ramiro came every Christian spear ;

The blessed Saint Iago, they called upon his name :—

That day began our freedom, and wiped away our shame."

Such is the concluding verse of the ballad in which Ramiro's memory is gratefully enshrined. " The reign of King Ramiro was short but glorious. He had not been many months seated on the throne when Abderaman, the second of that name, sent a formal embassy to demand payment of an odious and ignominious tribute, which had been agreed to in the days of former and weaker princes, but which, it would seem, had not been exacted by the Moors, while such men as Bernardo del Carpio and Alfonso the Great headed the forces of the Christians. This tribute was a hundred virgins *per annum*. King Ramiro refused compliance and marched to meet the army of Abderaman. The battle was

fought near Alboyda (or Alveida), and lasted for two entire days. On the first day the superior discipline of the Saracen chivalry had nearly accomplished a complete victory, when the approach of night separated the combatants. During the night, Saint Iago stood in a vision before the king, and promised to be with him next morning in the field. Accordingly, the warlike apostle made his appearance, mounted on a milk-white charger, and armed cap-a-pie in radiant mail, like a true knight. The Moors sustained a signal defeat, and the "Maiden Tribute" was never afterwards paid, although often enough demanded."

Ramiro was succeeded by his son, Ordoño I., in 850, who devoted his chief care to the restoration and re-peopling of the cities abandoned by Alfonso I., defeated the rebellious Basques and the Norman pirates (859), and died, leaving a pleasant memory to his famous son and follower, Alfonso III.

Alfonso had been associated with his father for four years in the government, so that he was not unprepared to take control of affairs on the death of Ordoño. He pressed further into the dominions of the Moors than any previous Christian prince. Burgos, the bulwark of Spain against the infidels on the east side, rose into prominence during his reign, and he strengthened his possessions by the building of numerous fortresses and castles. A marriage with Ximene, daughter of Garcias Íñiguez, brought him into intimate association with the reigning house of Navarre. He crossed the Duero and conquered the chief towns of Lusitania, pushing his conquests to the vicinity of Merida and the Sierra Morena. Contending with continual conspiracies

instigated by Count Froila and his own brothers, he suffered the further mortification of seeing his son Garcias and his wife weaving plots against him, and finally abdicated in favor of Garcias. The younger brother, Ordoño, received Galicia ; Froila (Fruella), Asturias ; and Garcias, Leon. Alfonso retired to Santiago to hide his wounded feelings in devotion, but came forth once more and battled triumphantly against the Moors of Toledo, dying, after a reign of forty-four years, in 910.

With Alfonso III. closes the series of purely *Asturian* kings, and Garcias, who took up his residence in Leon, was the first king of *Leon*, as the Christian kings north of the Duero thenceforth named themselves. The origin of the name of the town dates from the establishment of the seventh Roman *legio* (*Legio VII. Gemina*) there, and the town remained stubbornly Roman till taken by Leovigild in 585. The Arabs held Leon but a short time, and its walls of great and massive strength admirably adapted it for being the stronghold of Spanish Christendom as it had been of the Romans. The conquests of Alfonso III. had gradually but surely moved forward the centre of the Christian power toward the centre of the peninsula, and incalculable might have been the results, had not, as so often in Spanish history, the slowly evolving kingdom been torn by dissensions resulting from a division of its resources among the three brothers. The consequence was three short and tumultuous reigns — Garcias (910-14), Ordoño II. (914-924), and Froila II. (924-925) — the first of whom died childless, the second campaigned successfully against the great Khalif Abderaman III., and the

third, supplanting his brother Ordoño's children, died of leprosy, says the chronicle, after a reign of fourteen months.

Alfonso IV., the Blind, or the monk, a son of Ordoño II., grasped the sceptre with weak and vacillating hand, between 925 and 930. Devoted to pious exercises, he abdicated in favor of his brother Ramiro II. (931-950), retired to the convent of Sahagun (*Domnos Sanctos*), repented of his abdication, flew to arms while Ramiro was fighting the Saracens, was defeated and blinded, and died, leaving a memory compounded of bigotry, irresolution, and duplicity.

The chroniclers pass over the nineteen years of the reign of Ramiro II. in almost absolute silence. The count of Castile, Fernan Gonzalez, and the Castilian grandee, Diego Muñoz, revolted against Ramiro, were defeated and imprisoned, and released under oath of allegiance to the king of Leon. Ordoño married his eldest son Ordoño to Urraca, Gonzalez' daughter, won a brilliant victory over the infidels at Talavera, left numerous monastic establishments as memorials of his religious faith, and died in 950, leaving the throne to his eldest son Ordoño III., a prince of distinguished resolution, caution, valor, and experience. His brother Sancho, aided by the refractory count of Castile, rebelled against him; but the proclamation of the "holy war" against the Christians by Abderaman united the Spaniards, and gave them a glorious success on the banks of the Duero. Sancho I. (the Fat), followed his brother in 957, but was soon driven into exile by the ambitious and unmanageable Fernan Gonzalez, who was bent on securing the independence of Castile. Sancho took

refuge with the noble-minded Khalif of Cordova, was cured of his excessive corpulency by the skill of the Arabian physicians, and, assisted by Abderaman's troops, expelled the pretender, Ordoño the Bad, from Leon, forced him into exile among the Moslems, and finally succumbed himself to a poisoned apple sent him by count Gonzalo Sanchez of Galicia, in 966. Doña Elvira, aunt of the five-year-old heir to the crown, Ramiro III. (966-982), a woman of great wisdom and ability, managed the kingdom during the minority of her nephew, and destroyed a Norman fleet of one hundred vessels, which had ravaged Galicia and the sea-coast. A narrow-minded, mendacious, and arrogant stripling, Ramiro III. totally estranged the affections of his people; the grandees rebelled and offered the crown to Bermudo II., the Gouty (982-999),—a vigorous though physically ailing spirit, celebrated for the misfortunes which his government underwent at the hands of the terrible Almansor. His own nobles called the Moors into the land, stole and divided his treasures, caused the destruction of his capital and innumerable villages, churches, and cloisters, the desecration of the great sanctuary of Santiago by the Moors, and a state of pitiable ruin and disaster throughout Christian Spain.

The destruction and misery were partially obliterated by his son, Alfonso V. (999-1028), who rebuilt the walls, churches, and convents of Leon, and held there the famous council of prelates and grandees in 1020, so epoch-making for the legislation of this part of Spain. He was slain by an arrow during the siege of Viseu, on the Mondego, in 1028.

The curse of mediæval Spain perpetually recurs,—long

minorities of her princes, during which the country is delivered over to the heartless intrigues of the nobles. Bermudo III. (1028-1037) had this hapless experience, saw his capital taken away from him by the ambitious and powerful Sancho Mayor, king of Navarre, — who reigned from the summit of the Pyrenees to the boundaries of Galicia,—and only after the latter's death in 1035, re-appeared as king of Leon. Sancho had conquered Castile, and left his kingdom in such a way that his son Garcias held possession of Navarre with Alava; Ferdinand, Castile, with prospective rights to Leon, Galicia, and Asturias, in case Bermudo died without children; and the bastard Ramiro, Aragon. The two combined against Bermudo; a bloody battle ensued, and Bermudo, rushing impetuously forward to measure lances with his princely enemies, was killed. With him the male line of the kings of Leon expired, and, as his only son had died soon after birth, Ferdinand therefore succeeded to the crown of Leon.

Whilst a kingdom thus painfully and piece-meal rose in the west of the peninsula, a little state, or confederacy of states, began a similar line of development in the east.

The spirit of the eastern population of Spain had always been singularly fresh and stirring. The climate, the situation of the land, and the intimate association with France, stimulated these small countyships and principalities wonderfully. Thus between the protecting Pyrenees and the Mediterranean, in Catalonia, rose a nationality whose fundamental tone was Gothic and Spanish, yet whose constituent elements were so com-

plex, owing to foreign influence, and wide-extended commercial relations abroad and at home, that the nationality as a whole came to form an easy transition between sharply individualized Spain and the more cosmopolitan spirit of Italy, France, and Germany.

The earliest history of the province of Barcelona is closely bound up with that of the south of France. The "Spanish March" separated, with Septimania, from the kingdom given by the Emperor Louis to his son Pippin, in the south of France, embraced the four dioceses of Barcelona, Gerona, Urgel, and Ausona. It extended beyond the limits of Vasconia and embraced counties belonging later to Aragon. Barcelona was the capital, and the counts of Barcelona, called by their contemporaries also dukes of Barcelona, were at once counts of the March of Spain, and dukes of Septimania. Their task was to watch and protect this important borderland (hence *march*, or *mark*) against the menacing growth of the Saracens. Their remoteness from the central authority and their power were so great that they soon coveted and effected their independence. About 865 Septimania was separated from the county of Barcelona. Wifrid the Hairy is the first count after the separation that offers any certain point about which to group historical facts. It is not, however, till the great name of the *Berenguers* is reached, in the eleventh century, that *Catalonia*, so-called by a Pisan chronicler in 1114, assumes decided importance in the affairs of the country.

Raymond Berenguer I. was grandson of Raymond, whose reign, with that of his brother, extended from 977 to 1017, a period filled with the splendid achievements

of Almansor and marked by the acme and decline of the Mahometan Khalifate of Cordova. Under the princes of this name, both Raymonds and Raymond Berenguers, the county swiftly progressed in internal development and external extent (1076). Under Raymond Berenguer I., were promulgated those remarkable *usages* or laws of Barcelona which, for seven hundred years, formed the foundation of the civil administration of Catalonia. In thus giving his land its peculiar legislation, Raymond was equally intent upon insuring its independence within and without. It is said that he acquired such supremacy over the Moslems that twelve kings (emirs and *walis*) of Spain paid annual tribute to him as to their lord. He sullied the brightness of his honor, however, by accepting gold from the infidels, exciting Christians against Christians, shedding the blood of his people in the cause of fugitive and shameless Moslems, and playing the allies of the infidels in their civil wars against one another, for the aggrandizement of himself. He died in 1076 (as did his son Raymond Berenguer II. in 1092), while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The third of the name extended the territory and resources of his land more than either of his predecessors, and united, by inheritance, with Barcelona the counties of Cerdagne, Berga, and Conflant, Capcir, and a part of Rasez (1111-1117). Marriage with Dolce, countess of Arles or Provence, in 1112, brought him other extensive possessions north of the Pyrenees; and he assumed the title of count of Barcelona and Spain, Besalu, and Provence.

His conquest of Majorca in union with the Pisan fleet, in 1114-1115, resulted in the liberation of thirty

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thousand captive Christians on one day; but the conquest was soon lost. Throwing off ecclesiastical allegiance to the archbishop of Narbonne, on the other side of the Pyrenees, he erected Tarragona into an archbishopric, and made of it the metropolitan see, after the conquest of Saragossa from the Moslems in 1118. Entering the order of the Templars, he dedicated himself indefatigably to knightly encounters with the "accursed sons of Mahoun." On his death, in 1131, he left the Spanish March, with all its belongings, to his eldest son, Raymond Berenguer IV., and to the youngest, Berenguer Raymond, Provence and his possessions in Rouergue, Gevaudan, and Carlad. In 1137 the Spanish March was united with Aragon, and began at once a new and interesting period.\*

\* As the accounts of the early history of Barcelona, Navarre, Castile, Aragon, and the Asturias are conflicting, I have preferred to follow *Lembke* I., *Schäfer* II., and *Dozy, Recherches*, I. and II.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CHRISTIAN SPAIN TO THE ALMORAVIDE CONQUEST.

[CONTINUED.]

ONLY once, hitherto, under Sancho the Great, was it permitted to *Navarre* to play a striking part in the affairs of Spain. Its precipice-guarded mountain-land was favorable to independence, though eyed with covetousness by the foreigner, as a borderland and entrance into the peninsula. Navarre had been the gateway of the Saracens into France, and became the guide of France into Spain. The early and marvellous expansion of Leon and Castile had, however, prevented Navarre from becoming a great power. Fortunate circumstances had enabled Sancho the Great to exercise an evanescent lordship from Pampelona down over almost the whole of Catholic Spain. But his short-sighted division of his kingdom among his sons, put the finishing blow to a lasting preponderance of his kingdom, and in the bosom of the Pyrenees created Aragon, which soon overshadowed the motherland.

Pampelona and Navarre were ruled by counts, or dukes dependent upon the Frankish kings until they cast off the yoke, aided by their difficult position and the weakness and neglect of the Frankish overlords.

The hardy and warlike Basques were perpetually in revolt against their own rulers and the kings of Asturias

and Leon. The marriage of Alfonso III. (866-910) with Ximene, a daughter of Garcias Iñiguez, who deduced his origin from Peter, duke of Cantabria, of the Visigothic royal house, shows at least the existence of an important independent reigning house in Navarre, and a land sundered both from the Frankish and the Asturian kingdom in the latter part of the ninth century. Though Garcias Iñiguez does not seem to have been a king, his daughter married a king, and his son, Sancho Garcias (-s or -z is a patronymic ending of descent), took the kingly title in 905. He conquered Pampelona and the whole domain of Aragon, with its castles ; snatched all the fortified places, from Naxera to Tudela on the Cantabrian side, from the Saracens ; and at his death, in 925, left his kingdom clean of the misbelievers. His son Garcias reigned from 925 to 970, and "fought many battles with the Saracens," laconically register the chronicles. Of his two sons, Sancho and Ramiro, the first, as king of Navarre, through conquest, marriage, and skilful utilization of favorable circumstances, gave his realm an extent and importance unrivalled in the annals of Navarre by predecessor or successor. After the murder of the Castilian count Garcias, the king of Navarre, as son-in-law of count Sancho, got possession of Castile, and occupied in Leon, the region between the rivers Pisuerga and Cea. His division of the kingdom before his death in 1035, has already been mentioned. Garcias, the first-born, got Navarre, with Viscaya, hitherto united with Catalonia ; Ferdinand, Castile and the land between the Cea and the Pisuerga ; and Ramiro, a natural son, the countyship of Aragon.

The little countyship of *Aragon*, originally such a

speck on the map of Spain, possesses an interest in political history second only to that of Catalonia. The situation and nature of the two lands are not more different than the psychological peculiarities of their inhabitants. The vivid-minded Catalanian, absorbed in municipal life and industrial pursuits, turned towards the brilliant and animated Mediterranean, and thence wafted to every part of the world, devoted to sea-faring and sea-trade, lively, poetic, and chivalrous, forms the most utter contrast with the Aragonese, bred in his lonely mountains and valleys, everlastingly and fiercely fighting with the Moors, strange to culture and refinement, proudly and stoically secluded, and yet developing, in his savage solitude, a code which, in its singularly broad and enlightened views of civil liberty, constitutional government, and the limitations of power, is rivalled only by the great *charter* wrung from King John of England, at Runnymede.

Darkness shrouds the rise of Aragon as it does that of Leon, the Asturias, Castile, and Navarre. The small extent of the county, its inaccessible position, and its primitive unimportance, make it suffer at the hands of the chroniclers. Count Bernard, one of the sons of Vaudregisel, a descendant of Eudes, duke of Aquitania, was one of the earliest Aragonese "watchers of the borderland," in virtue of his marriage with Theuda, daughter of Galindo, the count of Aragon. Galindo was the second count, and is expressly called the *Count of Aragon*. Originally conquered, with the aid of the Franks, by Count Bernard, it was united with Navarre by King Sancho Garcias, and fell to the bastard son of Sancho the Great, Ramiro, who assumed the title of

king, and increased his realm by wars with the Moors, and by steady endowment and building up of the great mediæval church organization of Spain. Civil war broke out between the three brothers. Garcias fell in battle in 1054; his whole territory down to the Ebro came into the hands of Ferdinand; and Ramiro died at the siege of Grados in 1063, leaving a son, Sancho Ramirez, who completely expelled all the Moors from the mountains of Aragon, and from Sobrarbe, Ribagorza, and Barbastro, in the plains (1065). The murder of King Sancho of Navarre in 1076, by his brother Raymond, enabled the kings of Castile and Aragon to occupy the now confused and headless kingdom. Sancho Ramirez therefore gained Pampelona, and Alfonso VI. of Castile and Leon occupied Rioja and Calahorra, and the provinces Alava, Guipuzcoa, and Biscay. The murderer fled to the court of the Emir of Saragossa, whose central position, almost in the midst of the Christian principalities, enabled him long to hold the balance of power in his hands, and become equally formidable as foe or ally of his neighbors. Navarre, to the Ebro, remained bound up with Aragon till its separation again, in 1134. We find an intensely active guerrilla warfare against the Mussulmans carried on all this time, and the king, Sancho Ramirez, spread with restless energy his conquests further and further to the south, fortifying his frontier as he went. In 1093 the Christians poured like a devastating stream into the Moslem domain; forty thousand armed and unarmed persons were slaughtered in the captured towns, and innumerable women and children dragged into captivity. The heroic monarch died of a poisoned arrow at the siege of Huesca, in 1094.

The capture of Huesca became the persevering task of Pedro I., his successor on the throne — a city which was the bulwark of the Mahometan power in eastern Spain. It surrendered in 1096. The possession of so important a place lightened the task of the capture of Saragossa, which was accomplished by his successor. Pedro died in 1104 in great repute for justice, orthodoxy, and knightliness.

About the middle of the eighth century, in the time of Alfonso I., what, a century later, was called *Castile*, was called *Bardulia*. Castile, as a name, was already familiar in the days of Alfonso III. A few decades after, the domain of Castile had so extended that it came to be called "Old" Castile in contra-distinction to the ever-widening conquests to the south; the same name was applied to the territory of Toledo, afterwards acquired by the kings of Leon and Castile, though with the designation "New" Castile. The whole land down to the "Puertos de Guadarrama," or "gates of the Guadarrama" mountains, was called *Old Castile*; southwards from this point, *New Castile*. At one time, however, the term "Old" Castile was applied more particularly to that domain which constituted the primitive seat of the "county of Castile," and within this domain formed the *merindad* of Villarcayo, as distinguished from the territory of Burgos, which was preferably called "Castile."

Alfonso I. and his successors, as kings of Asturias, undoubtedly installed governors over the first conquests made in the north of Castile. But the first knowledge

we have of "counts" of Castile is of Rodrigo and Diego, father and son, the former of whom founded Amaya in 860 as the capital, at that time, of the province, and the latter peopled Burgos, twenty-four years later (884). There were numerous counts in the different districts of the country, several of whom Ordoño caused to be apprehended and put to death for rebellion in 923, a fact which speaks eloquently for the dependence of Castile at that time. From the year 935 Fernan Gonzalez, one of the most famous and captivating of Spanish ballad-figures, appears as single count of Castile, striving though unsuccessfully for independence against Ramiro II. Ramiro courted his friendship, however, by marrying his son to the powerful count's daughter, thinking thus to have woven an inextricable woof of dependence for him. Gonzalez, however, — a treacherous and ungovernable grandee, — struggled unceasingly in the succeeding reigns of Ordoño III. and the weak Sancho I., but without avail. Castile remained obedient to Leon.

It was a vast step towards independence, however, that his son, Garcia Fernandez, followed him immediately in the administration of the province.

The Count Fernan Gonzalez is the centre of a thousand radiations of delicate and fantastic poetry,

They have carried afar into Navarre the great count of Castile,  
And they have bound him sorely, they have bound him hand and  
heel;  
The tidings up the mountains, and down among the valleys,  
"To the rescue! to the rescue, ho! — they have ta'en Fernan  
Gonzalez!"



GATE OF THE TORRE DE LAS INFANTAS.  
H. S.—10

# THE BOOK ANNOTATION

A pilgrim knight of Normandy was riding through Navarre,  
For Christ his hope he came to cope with the Moorish scymitar;  
To the Alcaydé of the tower in secret thus said he:  
"These bezaunts fair with thee I'll share, so I this lord may see."

Such are the opening lines of one of these charming legends so musically rendered by Lockhart, who continues: "The story of Fernan Gonzalez is detailed in the *Coronica Antigua de España* with so many romantic circumstances, that certain modern critics have been inclined to think it entirely fabulous. Of the main facts recorded, there seems, however, to be no good reason to doubt; and it is quite certain that from the earliest times the name of Fernan Gonzalez has been held in the highest honor by the Spaniards themselves of every degree. He lived at the beginning of the tenth century. It was under his rule, according to the chronicles, that Castile first become an independent Christian state, and it was by his exertions that the first foundations were laid of that system of warfare by which the Moorish power in Spain was at last overthrown.

"He was so fortunate as to have a wife as heroic as himself, and both in the chronicles and in the ballads, abundant justice is done to her merits.

"She twice rescued Fernan Gonzalez from confinement, at the risk of her own life. He asked, or designed to ask, her hand in marriage of her father, Garcias, king of Navarre, and was on his way to that prince's court, when he was seized and cast into a dungeon, in consequence of the machinations of his enemy, the queen of Leon, sister to the king of Navarre. Sancha, the young princess, to whose alliance he had aspired, being

informed of the cause of his journey, and of the sufferings to which it had exposed him, determined at all hazards to effect his liberation ; and having done so, by bribing his jailer, she accompanied his flight to Castile. Many years after, he fell into an ambush prepared for him by the same implacable enemy, and was again a fast prisoner in Leon. His countess, feigning a pilgrimage to Compostella, obtained leave, in the first place, to pass through the hostile territory, and afterwards in the course of her progress, to spend one night in the castle where her husband was confined. She exchanged clothes with him ; and he was so fortunate as to pass in his disguise through the guards who attended on him."

Under Count Sancho, grandson of Fernan Gonzalez, the foundation was laid for the complete independence of Castile, by the marriage of his daughter to Sancho of Navarre. On the murder of his son and heir, Garcias, by the Vela brothers at the church door (1026), the Castilian male line became extinct, and the king of Navarre claimed Castile in virtue of his being the brother-in-law of the deceased. Then Bermudo III., king of Castile and Leon, gave his sister Sancha in marriage to Ferdinand, second son of the king of Navarre, with cession of the land between the Cea and Pisuerga. After that time Castile began to grow up into an independent kingdom. Ferdinand became count of Castile, which fell to him as hereditary possession on Sancho's division of the three kingdoms at his death.

After Ferdinand I.'s coronation as king of Leon and Castile, he ruled over lands extending from the coast

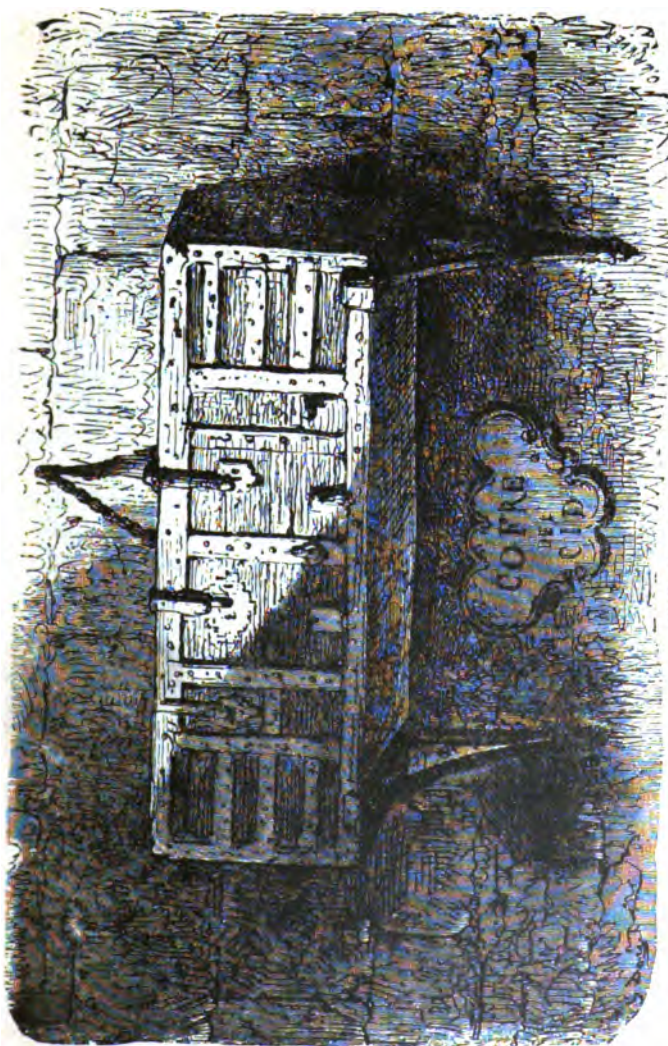
of Galicia to the borders of Navarre — a power which roused great apprehensions among the Moslems. To win over the Leonese, he resorted to the favorite means of reconciliation of the early Spanish kings — a means out of which grew the whole marvellous fabric of early Spanish liberties and prerogatives, — confirmed their own *fueros* or laws, and added new ones to these. The great assembly of Coyanza held in 1050, was of striking significance for the subsequent civil and ecclesiastical legislation at Castile. Ferdinand devoted special attention to the education of his sons, had them instructed in the sciences, in arms, riding, and the chase, and his daughters grew up with all the ornaments of womanhood. His states flourished under his sagacious administration and he triumphed over his unnatural brother, Garcias of Navarre, in 1054, when Garcias fell mortally wounded in battle. The usual interminable war against the Moslems was religiously maintained. At the assembly held in Leon about 1063-4 he committed the fatal error, oblivious of the evil effects of his father's example, of parcelling out his realm among his three sons and two daughters. Alfonso, whom he loved best, was to have Leon and Asturias; Sancho, the eldest, Castile; Garcias, the youngest, Galicia; and the daughters, Urraca, and Elvira the cities of Zamora and Toro, with the patronage of all the convents in the kingdom, on condition of remaining unwedded. (Both died about 1101). The most notable achievement of his late old age was the siege and capture of the populous city of Coimbra; and he lived to see the Emirs of Toledo, Seville, Badajoz, and Saragossa in a certain dependence on him. Feeling his end approaching, he

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put on the royal vestments, had himself borne to the church of San Juan, prayed aloud humbly before the assembled dignitaries, removed the royal insignia, and putting on the penitential garment died in the arms of the priest, in 1065.

Love for his children had thus caused Ferdinand to sow seeds of discord which did not fail to bring forth an hundred fold. An ignoble strife broke out between Alfonso and Sancho; Sancho seized his brother's dominions, banished Alfonso to Toledo, and drove Garcias into exile. Only a single town and a single woman ventured to withstand his resistless arms—the Lady Urraca of Zamora, the elder sister—a quaint and infinitely attractive profile, as she peeps out of the old ballads and throws her delicate body athwart all this stormy tumult. Sancho besieged Zamora and was murdered there by one of the knights of the town (1072); whereupon his ready-witted sister sent post-haste to Alfonso in Toledo, where he had been entertained with boundless hospitality by the Emir. Alfonso recovered his estates as expeditiously as he had lost them, granted privileges to his people,—among them the abolition of the burdensome way-toll exacted of all pilgrims journeying to the shrine of Santiago de Compostella,—cast his brother Garcias into lifelong imprisonment, and thus secured to himself control over Galicia.

It was partly in his days—a hundred years after all Spain had rung with the romantic story of the “seven most noble brothers called the infants of Lara”—that the celebrated Cid, champion of Spain, did those wonderful deeds whose echoes die away with the century as they mingle with the on-coming shout of the soldiers of the first crusade.



BOX OF THE CID.

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Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, the Cid Campeador, was the only one of the Spanish heroes who acquired a European reputation in the middle ages. The poets of all times sang and celebrated him. The most ancient monument of Castilian poetry bears his name; more than one hundred and fifty ballads celebrate his loves and combats; Guillen de Castro, Diamante, Corneille, and others, chose him as the hero of their dramas, and Herder, Southey, and Frere have made him a household word by the firesides of Germany and England. His name became the kernel and clustering-point of innumerable fictions.

The marriage contract of Rodrigo and Ximene and a few lines of a Latin Chronicle, written in the south of France forty-two years after his death (1141), are all the documentary testimony we possess contemporary with, or slightly posterior to, the Cid. The other sources of his history are subsequent to 1212.

According to the Arabian chronicle, the Cid was a professional highwayman whose business it was to chain prisoners; he was the scourge of the country; he entered the pay of the Mussulman kinglets, who surrendered to him various provinces of the peninsula, so that he traversed the country with impunity and planted his banner over their finest cities. His power was immense, and there was said to be no district of Spain which he had not pillaged. He laid siege to Valencia, captured it, and established himself there, where he died in 1099. At different times he fought against Garcias of the Crooked Mouth, the count of Barcelona, and the descendants of Raymond, putting their numerous warriors to flight with his small band of tried and

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invincible soldiers. He delighted in the deeds and *gestes* of the ancient chevaliers of Arabia, and when they read to him the story of Mohallab, he was in ecstasy and full of admiration for that dextrous hero. He served the Mahometan kings or emirs of Saragossa. The history of his achievements fills more than a half of the last part of the *Cronica General*—that matchless record drawn up in the second half of the thirteenth century by Alfonso X., surnamed the Learned, which, as Livy's book with regard to Roman history, was a digest of countless Latin chronicles and Spanish poems, with their *assonances* still clinging to them in many cases. Alfonso X. was the creator of "the true Castilian prose,—the prose of the good old times, the prose that expresses so faithfully the Spanish character,—that vigorous, broad, rich, grave, and noble prose." It is believed that he knew the Arabic, and translated from it the unflattering account which he gives of the Cid. The famous knight was called *Mio Cid* (my lord), a name given to him by his Arab soldiers and his Valencian subjects, and the term *Campeador* applied to him, did not mean *champion*—a technical term, of infamous repute, for a man who went from place to place, to hire out his services in judicial combats—but a *dueller*, a term borrowed by the Spaniards from the Arabs, to signify one who, like David, went forth when two armies met, and defied the *preux* of the other side to single combat. Such was his position in the army of Sancho of Castile to whom he was standard-bearer.

The date of the *Song of the Cid* has been fixed as of not higher antiquity than the beginning of the thirteenth century, and in its verses, varying from eight to

twenty-four syllables in length, we have a brilliant, pathetic, and marvellously naïve account of his wrongs ; his marriage with the daughter of the man he had slain, his solemn binding of Alfonso under oath that he had not killed Sancho ; the king's bitter enmity to the Cid thereupon ; his banishment ; the story of Baviaca, his wonderful horse ; the marriage of his daughters to the Infants of Carrion, who insulted and scourged them, leaving them bleeding in the wood ; the starving and storming of Valencia ; the touching legend of the Leper ; the dazzling visions that he had on his death-bed, his death, and the story of how the heroic Ximene bound him erect on Baviaca, and carried him, a corpse in armor, holding his glittering sword, to Burgos.

Ximene was the daughter of Diego, count of Oviedo, and cousin of Alfonso, who wished by marriage to attach Rodrigo to his family, though he had conceived an aversion to him. On Rodrigo's attacking the Moors in 1081 without asking his permission, Alfonso banished him, and from this moment the Cid became the *condottiere*-in-chief of the peninsula marauders. He terrorized the country of the enemies of his master, Montamin Emir of Saragossa ; Montamin overwhelmed him with presents and distinctions ; but the Cid, hungering after the pardon and recognition of his old master, as it would seem, tried in 1084 to open negotiations. Alfonso received him honorably, but his secret rancor soon got the better of his prudence, and the Cid found it advisable to return to Saragossa.

Alfonso made no scruple of selling his people and their states. He sold Valencia — which he was not in possession of then — to Moctodir of Saragossa for

one hundred thousand gold pieces; then nine years later to Cádiz, on condition that the Mussulman prince would hand over to him Toledo, the ancient capital of the Visigoths. Alfonso held his entry into the city in 1085, while Cádiz exposed himself to the ridicule of Mussulmans and Christians by spying out on an astro-labe the hour propitious for his departure.

The chaos into which the Mussulman principalities had fallen on the dissolution of the Khalifate, fifty years before, was for a moment reorganized by the arrival of the Almoravide king of Morocco, Yousof-ibn-Techouf, whom the Andalusian princes had called into the land to their help against Alfonso. In the celebrated battle of Zallâcca, fought in 1086, the "emperor" Alfonso was shamefully beaten.

The Cid meanwhile had made an arrangement with Mostâin of Saragossa, his new employer, to rid Valencia of the miserable despot Cádiz: with infinite duplicity he secretly negotiated with Cádiz, then with Alfonso, whose vassal Cádiz was, then with Cádiz again. At the head of an independent robber band, he destroyed churches, devastated fields, stormed fortresses, loaded Berenguer of Aragon with insults (whom afterwards he profoundly touched by his generosity), compelled the petty sovereigns of Barcelona, Valencia, Albarracin, Alpuente, Murviedro, and Saragossa to purchase his protection at the rate of thousands of golden *ainârs*, and virtually possessed Valencia long before its surrender, in 1094, but a few years after the mighty king of Morocco had once more blended the swarming republics and kingdoms of the south into a powerful sovereignty, and created the Almoravide dynasty to last

a hundred years. It is said that the Cid died broken-hearted over the defeat of his chosen troops by the Almoravides in 1099. In 1102 the Almoravides took possession of the beautiful city.

The death of the Cid seems to have been the birth of Castilian poesy—a poesy as different as possible from that of the polished, ingenious, and impressionable Moors, who haunted palaces, delighted in commentaries, and sent messages of battle or reconciliation in verse characterized by an incomparable poetic *technique*. The Castilian popular verse clung faithfully to reality; it was full of dreams of national grandeur obscurely foreshadowed; it deified, with an intuitive political sense, the great champion of the people and opponent of an unjust ruler; it transformed an historic king, half a century after his death, into an idealized and half-fabulous hero, burdening him with the agony of its own poetic dreams. The Cid was the incarnation of his times. Fighting now for Christ and now for Mahomet; guilty of infamous treasons; breaking solemn oaths; burning prisoners; having no word in his vocabulary that would express *patriotism*; lying without scruple; a powerful chieftain who had conquered a principality for himself; he was no worse and no better than the Bernardo del Carpios, the Fernan Gonzalezes, or than many a king among his contemporaries.

There were three Cids: the cavalier, who could fight better than all others, who protected and governed his king when he was not fighting him, brutally vigorous and frank, inaccessible to tender feeling, a violator of holy places; then a nobler, loyaller, chivalric, Christian Cid, who grew out of the impassioned reveries and

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reminiscences of the author of the *Song of the Cid* in 1200 — a champion fervently adoring the Eternal, blessed with visions of archangels, absolutely devoted to king and fatherland, full of fatherly tenderness for his daughters, Doña Elvira and Doña Sol, full of dignity and glory arising from a consciousness of just deeds and chivalrous enterprises, the noblest type of love, honor, religion, patriotism, and knightliness ; and, lastly, the Cid of the *romanceros* of the sixteenth century, who is a sort of Cid *galant*, overflowing with fine talk and sentimental rhodomontade. A convent of Benedictine monks, at San Pedro de Cardeña, devoted themselves to his memory, because there he was buried, and there were found his tomb, his banner, his buckler, his cup of violet-colored crystal, and his cross. They shed sweet odors round his spirit, which wrought miracles and caused the rains of heaven to inundate the blazing fields of Castile. In the popular opinion he became more and more of a saint. Bits of his coffin were eagerly sought as preservatives against the perils of war. And Philip II.,—who, it was said, had the Cid been his contemporary, would have had him burnt by the inquisition as a sacrilegious heretic ; who, even in his grave-vault, wore the Arabic costume and was more of a Mahometan than a Christian, — Philip II. claimed his canonization at the hands of the pope — the canonization of the man who was the boldest and bitterest champion of that liberty which it was the life-task of Philip to exterminate.

## CHAPTER IX.

### FROM THE ALMORAVIDE CONQUEST TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

THE task of unravelling the complicated threads of the Spanish dynasties and then twining them together in a clear and harmonious whole, is one of some difficulty ; and it is hard to fix the reader's attention on so many radiating lines of development until they all converge and coalesce in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella. The numerous Alfonsos, the confusing Sanchos, the series of Ferdinands, Juans, and Pedros, often contemporaries though reigning over different kingdoms ; the five-fold, almost simultaneous development of Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, Asturias with Leon and Castile, and, later on, the western kingdom of Portugal ; together with the perpetual dissolving and recombining panorama of Saracenic Spain, with its Khalifate, kingdoms, and short-lived republics ; tend to bewilder and overwhelm the student. Fortunately, however, the history of Spain is full of illuminated points, to which, in the general darkness the eye may turn, and around which cluster the true destinies of the country. These are great battles and illustrious reigns — Xeres de la frontera, Zallâca, Las Navas de

Tolosa, Alarcos—events epoch-making in their far-reaching consequences, which both reader and writer welcome as lighthouses and lode-stars.

Such, at present, was the battle of Zallâca, fought in 1086, between Yousof, king of Morocco, and Alfonso VI., “emperor of Castile,” and his allies, Sancho Ramirez of Aragon and Navarre, and Raymond Berenguer of Barcelona. Alfonso’s army, the noblest that Spain had ever seen, was cut to pieces, and the “emperor” himself barely escaped with five hundred cavaliers out of a reputed strength of one hundred thousand. The conquest of Seville by Yousof in 1091, followed by that of the Balearic Isles, gave the whole of Mussulman Spain to the Almoravides. In three years the barbarous hordes of Africa, called in by a fatal oversight to oppose the great and admirable genius of Alfonso, extirpated the “rootless sovereignties” of the south, and re-established a Mahometan empire like that of the Omayyades, only on a broader basis. Alfonso’s inactivity was ascribed to his expeditions against Lisbon and Santarem, which he gave in feoff to his son-in-law, Count Henry of Besançon, Burgundian founder of the kingdom of Portugal.

The year 1099, famous for the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, was locally celebrated in Spain as the death-year of the Cid.

The death of Yousof, in his hundredth year (1106),—the great general who mingled cruelty, perfidy, ingratitude, and iron insensibility with the strange virtues of religious enthusiasm and humility,—whom two-thirds of Spain and half of Africa obeyed as sole sovereign; whose realms reached from Fraga to Cadiz, and from

Tunis and Tangier to the golden mountains of the negroes ; whom thirteen emirs saluted as " Prince of the Faithful," and for whom prayers were said in nineteen thousands pulpits — the death of Yousof for a moment shook the Almoravide supremacy ; but it speedily settled in the quiet possession of Ali, Yousof's son, like Abderaman III., the son of a Christian woman.

Alfonso VI. died in 1109, broken hearted at the death of his only son, Sancho, son of a daughter of the emir of Seville by an illegitimate union. He had no male heir by his six lawful wives, the first of whom was Agathe, daughter of William the Conqueror. Don Sancho was killed at the disaster of Uccles, twenty-two years after the defeat of Zallâca. The story of his death, and of his aged father's grief, is infinitely touching. " Alas, my son ! " — we translate from the Galician legend of Sandoval — " alas, my son ! joy of my heart and light of my eyes, solace of my old age ! alas, my mirror, in whom I was wont to see myself, and in whom I took very great delight ! O, my heir ! — cavaliers, where have ye left him ? Give me my son, counts ! " And he went on repeating, " Give me my son, counts ! "

It is from the reign of Alfonso VI. that dates the true greatness of Castile, which, from his time on, ascended steadily to the first rank of the peninsular states. Twice vanquished, and thirty-nine times victor, Alfonso was called the " Buckler of Faith," and named himself " Imperator Hesperiaë." At his death, the water flowed for three days from the foot of the altar of Saint Isidore of Leon, as if the stones themselves had to shed tears !

The death of Pedro I. in 1104, left the crown of Aragon.  
H. 8.—11

gon vacant to his brother, Alfonso I., the real source of the power of Aragon. Alfonso had married the eldest daughter of Alfonso VI. of Castile, Doña Urraca — a sanguinary termagant, whose licentious amours, violence, and recklessness place her upon the most unenviable pedestal of historic viragoes. The Latin of the chronicles becomes piquantly ungrammatical in its naïve delineations of this “*sceleratissima vipera*,” as it calls her, and her whole reign — she died in 1126 — is condensed by one of them in these words: “*Tyrannice et muliebriter regnavit!*” she reigned like a woman and a tyrant. It took all the virtues of Isabel the Catholic to wipe out the memory of the vices of Urraca. The interminable feuds of the great houses of the Laras and the Castros added to the horrors of the minority of Alfonso VII., the Emperor, for whom Urraca, as his mother, held the kingdom in trust.

Meanwhile the knell of the Almoravide dynasty had rung. Out of the depths of Africa, that seething cauldron of religious ideas and revolutions, arose the *Mahadi*, Abdallah-ibn-Toumert, “whose father lighted the lamps in a mosque,” and who himself was to light the funeral pyre of the Almoravides. He called himself the Messiah, announced for ages as the saviour of men, and in 1120, began to propagate his doctrine of a purified Islámism restored to its primitive simplicity. His sect called the *Almohades* (Unitarians), spread with wonderful rapidity in the fierce and easily fecundated air of Africa. Abdallah associated with himself a man of noble mien and commanding presence, Abdelmoumen, whose business it was to fight the battles of the Almohades while Abdallah, with flashing eyes and strange

eloquence promulgated the gospel of his belief. Abdelmoumen, by his remarkable talents as a general, routed the troops of Ali and became Emir of Africa. The fortune of the Almoravides declined, also, in the peninsula, under Tachfin, Ali's son; for the Almoravides had become odious to the Andalusian Mussulmans and Spain was ripe for a revolt. The fate of Tachfin was to die by falling over a precipice in Africa, in 1145. Purchasing the neutrality of Alfonso, the redoubtable enemy of their faith, the Andalusians shook off the yoke of the Almoravides. Thirty thousand Almohades, however, sent by Abdelmoumen to pave the way to the conquest of Spain, disembarked at Algesiras, in 1146; the Almoravides sought a last refuge in the island of Majorca (1157); and the Almohades triumphed definitively over their foes in Andalusia in the same year, ever memorable for the death of Abdelmoumen's renowned rival in fortune and glory, the Emperor Alfonso VII., which took place in a last enterprise against the Saracens. His death contributed more than anything else to establish the domination of the Almohades, accomplished, it would seem, without the presence of their chief; but the death of Abdelmoumen in 1162, gave a great shock to the recently established kingdom. The last years of Abdelmoumen's life were consecrated to the administration of his vast dominions, now stretching from the Nile to the ocean; and in them he introduced an order rarely known under the purely personal sovereignty of the Commanders of the Faithful. He had his possessions skilfully surveyed, as a basis for an exact taxation, founded manufactories of arms, and built an immense fleet. The empire founded by him was one of the most

powerful that ever dominated the world of Islâm, and its character in Spain was less brutal than that of the Almoravide supremacy had been. The Emir himself was a singular mixture of grandeur and pettiness; subtle, bloodthirsty, pitiless, the Arab historians celebrate his liberality, eloquence, equity, and learning; his step was full of dignity, and he scorned the sensual luxuries of life.

An illustrative feature of the character of the times is shown by the conduct of the ferocious grandee, Rodrigo of Lara, one of the strangest types of the indomitable race of Castilian *ricos omes*. He had his prisoners harnessed with oxen to the plough, forced them to eat grass in the fields and straw in the stables, and drink water out of the marshes; and when he was tired of this pastime sent them home naked and despoiled of everything they had.

Alfonso the Fighter, first of the great kings of Aragon, seems to have fallen on the *champ dolent* of Fraga, fighting against the Mussulmans. His passion for the fray won him the title of *El Batallador*, and but for the civil wars that desolated his reign, — if Alfonso of Castile and Alfonso of Aragon had united their forces, — Spain might have been freed, three hundred years before it was, from the odious minions of Islâm. The Aragonese hero greatly extended his realm at the expense of the Moors, conquered Saragossa, and, on the other side of the Pyrenees, had as vassals nearly all the French and Basque lords of the frontier. He bequeathed his kingdom, for lack of immediate heirs, to the orders of St. John, of Jerusalem, and the Holy Sepulchre. The *cortes* refused to execute the king's will, and gave the

crown to the monk, Ramiro II., brother of the king. Navarre seized the opportunity to throw off the Aragonese yoke, and elected as its king, Garcia Ramirez, called the Restorer, grandson of Sancho III. and the Cid.

We cannot pass over the close of the Castilian monarch's long and glorious career without a concluding word. He died, under an oak by the roadside at Puerto de Muradal, in 1157, having reigned over Galicia, in the person of Urraca and himself, forty-seven years, forty over Leon and Castile, and twenty-two, as "Emperor," over all Christian and a part of Mussulman Spain. He had during his lifetime given to his son Sancho the Well-beloved, Castile and Biscay, and to Ferdinand, Leon, Galicia, Estremadura, and the right of suzerainty over Portugal. One of his daughters had married the young king of Navarre, another, the son of Raymond of Aragon, and a third, Louis the Young, king of France.

At the close of his life he was a mediator among the rival princes of Spain, and endeavored to combine all the forces of Christianity against its eternal enemy. Though he did not give his country monarchical unity, he gave it feudal unity, defended the faith zealously, enriched the clergy with his gifts without stooping too low under their inflexible yoke, and, by his successes over the Saracens, opened the way to the speedy conquest of Seville and Cordova.

As, however, the history of a people is to be found much more in its institutions than in the sterile cataloguing of its kings ; as the Gothic realm reflects itself in the *Lex Visigothorum*, and the Arabic in the Korán ; so it will be well to glance at the civil and political or-

ganization of Christian Spain as mirrored in its *fueros* or charters.

The term *fueros* is here narrowly restricted to the charters granted by the kings to the cities founded by them, or to those whose privileges they wished to confirm or extend as an inducement to keep them settled. Unwritten *fueros*, or bodies of customs and usages, existed in Spain long before written ones. The first of the written *fueros* seems to have been that of Leon, granted by Alfonso V. in 1020. This is the most ancient monument of Spanish jurisprudence. Then came that of Naxera, granted by Sancho the Great, of Navarre; then that of Burgos, about 1039; but it is especially to Alfonso VI., the conqueror of Toledo, that is due the majority of the *fueros* of this golden age of Spanish municipal legislation. The famous *fuero viejo* of Castile was conceded by Count Sancho (995-1015) — incontestably the oldest of the customary codes, though whether the first written or not is controverted. It reappears, under manifold forms, all through the municipal history of the peninsula. Most of these municipal codes were entirely local and derived from custom, and the *forum judicum* of the Goths. A wonderful spirit of liberty and conciliation prevails through them all, and out of them grew that jealous pride of independence so characteristic of Mediæval Spain. They encouraged by special concessions the growth of communities, restricted the authority of the great lords, augmented the power of the throne, recognized the sanctity of the household, established equality before the law for all members of a community, gave right of asylum and citizenship to Jews, carefully regulated taxation, encouraged the growth

of population by branding bachelorhood with ignominy, founded a rigorous penal code for crimes of every description ; and thus, under their influence, in the advanced and desolate plains of La Mancha and Estremadura, close to the ever-menacing Mussulman, sprang up a series of *poblaciones*, or communities, clustered about castles and fortresses, which became permeated with the spirit of freedom, — still in bonds to feudal observance, to be sure, but possessed of a power which offered the surest guarantees against the encroachments of the nobles.

The only thing that held the Christian sovereignties of Spain together, the only thing which, after religion, they had in common, was the war against the Moors. The regularity of this hundreds-of-years-old crusade gave to their military habitudes a fixity and prominence which it will be well for a moment to examine.

Spain, divided by eternal dissensions, would have sunk beneath the Mussulman yoke, had not certain permanent military organizations been constituted whose profession it was to war to the death against the common foe. Hence the origin of the three military orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, and Santiago, dating from the twelfth century, which were suggested, probably, either by the Eastern crusades, or by the religious and military system of the *Rahbit*, or guardians of the frontier, under the Omaiyyade empire. Such organizations became a military necessity, and were encouraged in 1122, by Alfonso the Fighter, who bequeathed his kingdom to the Hospitallers of St. John, and the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. They settled in great numbers in Aragon, about 1143, whence they spread to Castile. The order

of Santiago grew out of a band of penitent robbers in 1160, who wished in this way by implacable warfare against the infidels, to expiate their crimes; and this was preceded and followed by others.

An auxiliary system of *Almogavares* or scouts, *Adalides* or guides, and *Alfaqueques* or dragomans, used in interpreting and the redemption of prisoners, assisted the armies in their campaigns. Thus Spain distinguished itself from feudal Europe, no less by its peculiar military organization than by its free growth of the individual and the community, each more or less subject to the feudal classifications, but both modifying their inflexible character by an elective principle, a consciousness of individual worth, a Germanic sense of manhood unknown to contemporary Europe. We find the Spanish *comunero* soldier and citizen at once; electing his counsellors in the community and his chiefs on the field of battle; and the kinship between him and the free Gothic warrior is strong enough.——.

The division of his kingdom by the emperor, between his sons Sancho of Castile and Ferdinand of Leon, greatly enfeebled the ascendancy which the first of these states had begun to exercise over Christian Spain. Sancho's death in 1158 delivered Castile over to a minority of ten years, in the person of his young son, Alfonso VIII., called the Little King—a period of anarchy and intrigue, fortunately closed in 1170 by a truce with Navarre, and a closer alliance with Aragon, against Alfonso's uncle, Ferdinand II. Eighteen years after, Ferdinand II. of Leon died, bequeathing his crown to his son, Alfonso IX. Portugal was elevated, by a bull of Pope Alexander III., into a kingdom under Sancho I. (1179).

Abdelmoumen had left his vast heritage to his son, the Cid Yousof, a liberal, humane, and enlightened prince, to whom Spain owed the beautiful mosque of Seville (whose tower and *patio* are still standing), who built magnificent quais and magazines, brought the pure mountain water into the city by an aqueduct still extant, and spanned the Guadalquivir with a bridge. He was massacred while besieging Santarem in Portugal, in 1184, and was succeeded by Yacoub, one of his eighteen sons. In the mighty battle of Alarcos (between Cordova and Calatrava), fought in 1195, "God sent terror into the soul of Alfonso," says an Arabian chronicle, and the Christians were utterly routed by Yacoub. A space of one hundred and twelve years separated this disaster from that of Zallâca, but, like most Musulman victories, it was fruitless in consequence of the absurd incompetence of the commanding officers. Exactly one hundred years after the death of the Cid, Yacoub expired, a superannuated voluptuary, in the midst of the delights of his *Alcázar*. Under him the Almohade empire attained its highest splendor, with Alarcos as its culminating point. But this was the last great success of the Crescent in Spain, and its humiliating memory was soon extinguished by the glorious triumph of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212).

Pedro II. ascended the throne of Aragon in 1196, on the death of his father, Alfonso II., one of the greatest and most accomplished of the Aragonese kings, a famous patron of the *gaie science*, and a troubadour himself. The daughter of Sancho V., the Wise, of Navarre, married Richard the Lion-hearted, thus binding by one more link the kingdoms of Spain with

the court of England. Sancho the Strong (VI.), followed his father on the throne of Navarre, and made himself despicable by his alliance with the emir of Morocco. Amicable relations were partially established between Alfonso of Castile and the king of Leon, by the marriage of the latter with Berenguela (1198), Alfonso's daughter. Of this union was born, in 1199, Saint Ferdinand (III.), who conquered Seville and Cordova, though the near relationship of the two compelled their separation in 1204. Louis VIII. of France married Blanca, another of his daughters, and their son became Saint Louis of France.

Pedro II. of Aragon, following the policy of Sancho I., who had engaged to pay the Holy See a tribute of five hundred gold pieces, went to Rome and placed his crown under the *spiritual sovereignty* of Pope Innocent III., — an event of dismal result for Aragon, against which the proud nobility of the land murmured loudly. It was in his day that Simon de Montfort undertook his famous expedition against the heretics of Languedoc, during which the romantic and inconsistent Pedro, fighting against him, and hence against the Holy Father, was slain, and deprived of sepulture for six months as an enemy of God and the church. During his reign the power of the *ricos omes* was much diminished, and the power of the *justiza* increased. Sancho IV. of Navarre, died in 1234, and his narrow kingdom, shut in on all sides in the direction of Spain, inclined toward France, with whose history it is henceforth bound up.

Mohammed, the son of Yacoub, had now become the Emir of Africa and Spain. The emir, — whose unpardonable delay before Salvatierra, made the Arabian

chronicler say, "that a swallow had time to build her nest under the roof of his tent, raise her young, and fly away with them before Salvatierra was taken" — advanced against Alfonso with half a million of men. Crusaders "swarmed to Toledo from France, Italy, Germany, and all parts of Europe, at the call of Innocent III.," to prevent Spain from being again subjugated. Many of the Mussulman soldiers were chained together to prevent their fleeing, but the battle, fought near Las Navas de Tolosa, turned in favor of the Spaniards, when sixty thousand of the Andalusian Arabs, who despised the Almohade Berbers, turned their backs and fled. From one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand Mussulmans are said to have fallen, and only fifty (!) Spaniards.

The day of *Las Navas*, after that of the Guadalete, is the most important date in Spanish history. The flood of invasion, from that day became a receding one, and the Arabian empire, five hundred years old, began to disappear. Twice in two hundred years the inferior African race had conquered and lost the empire of the peninsula. Zallâca was avenged!

The iron chain which surrounded the tent of the emir passed into the coat of arms of Navarre, and thence to the arms of France.

Mohammed died of poison in 1213 and was followed by his son, Yousof. Alfonso VIII. expired of fever in 1214. He is said to have laid the foundation of the first university in Spain at Palencia, in 1209, confirmed and extended the *fueros* of his states, and, by the happy alliances of his daughters, established his influence in Leon, Portugal, Aragon, and France. His kingdom

fell to his son, Enrique I., under the guardianship of his mother, Eleanor of England. He died in 1217, struck on the head by a falling tile, and his sagacious and admirable sister Berenguela, laying aside her own rights, placed the crown on the head of her son Ferdinand III., called the "Saint" (1217). He married Beatrice of Suabia, daughter of the Emperor Philip, who died in 1208, and it was through her that his famous son, Alfonso X., claimed the imperial throne of Germany. The most notable title to fame of his contemporary, Alfonso IX. of Leon, was his establishment in 1222 of the university of Salamanca. At his death, Leon was united with Castile under Ferdinand III.

The history of the peninsula during the thirteenth century thus revolves around two significant facts — the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa and the union of Castile and Leon.

Ferdinand had a worthy rival in the person of the heroic king of Aragon, Jayme I., called the *Conqueror*, son of Pedro II. and Marie of Montpellier. The house of Champagne, in the person of Thibault, nephew of Sancho, now occupied the throne of Navarre, and from that day France exercised an ascendancy over the destinies of the kingdom, till its union with Castile in the time of Ferdinand the Catholic.

Between 1213 and 1236, under the repeated and brilliant successes of Jayme I. and Ferdinand III., the Almohade empire was humbled and weakened. Yousof was horned to death by a cow in 1224; Abd-el-Wahid, his grand-uncle, was proclaimed Emir of Morocco; two of his nephews got possession of Valencia and Seville; and Andalusia became separated from Africa. The

Balearic Isles, conquered in 1115 by the counts of Barcelona, had been lost by the perfidy of the Genoese; but they were reconquered by the valiant Jayme of Aragon in 1229, who, with infinite naiveté, tells the whole story in his memoirs. In 1236 Cordova fell into the hands of Ferdinand, and he immediately raised the victorious cross over the noble mosque, the noblest ever devoted to the worship of Islám, where he found the bells of Santiago which had been carried off by Almanzor from Compostella. The capture of Cordova is memorable from the fact that from this time Andalusia passed inch by inch under the yoke of Castile.

It has been well said that if the church had not called Ferdinand *Saint*, history would have called him *Great*. The keys of Seville, the finest of his conquests, were delivered up to him by its brave defender, Abou Hassan, in 1246. He won back one part of Andalusia after another till, consumed by a dropsical complaint, he expired in 1252, and was buried in Seville. The union of Castile and Leon gave Spain a great impetus towards a consolidation of all the states. Ferdinand made the most disinterested use of his power, and to him is due the great thought of endowing Castile and Leon with unity of legislation, though it was left to his son, Alfonso X., to achieve it.

Valencia had fallen in 1248, so that the Saracen empire in the south became more and more compressed within a narrow strip of sea-coast and mountain-land. Granada was the last refuge of these vanquished provinces, and here for more than two hundred years yet a series of able and accomplished princes kept alive the dying embers of Islám.

Jayme I. of Aragon's remarkable reign closed in 1276. A great warrior, poet, and politician; a general who gained thirty pitched battles over the Moors and founded more than two thousand churches; the most accomplished chevalier of his times; a broad-shouldered, blue-eyed, golden-haired, smiling, heroic personality; he committed as usual the odious blunder of dividing up his kingdoms among his three sons, and was instrumental in introducing the inquisition into Aragon (1232): two grave missteps to some extent counterbalanced by his enlightened love of the arts, his efforts to simplify the confused jurisprudence of the country, and his indefatigable pursuit of the Moors. The marriage of his son Pedro with Costanza, daughter of Manfred, king of Sicily and bastard of Frederic II., emperor of Germany (concluded in 1262), was the source of the rights of Aragon over Sicily, in after years so fruitful of important results. Other alliances—with Alfonso X. of Castile and Philip III. of France—connected Aragon with the principal thrones of Europe. A negotiation took place between him and Saint Louis of France by which the latter renounced his ancient rights of suzerainty over Catalonia, Roussillon and Cerdagne, and the former gave up his fiefs in the south of France, with the exception of Montpellier.

Thibault I. of Navarre had died in 1253, leaving two sons, Thibault II. and Enrique. Thibault II. left the succession to his brother Enrique, and received the generous friendship of Jayme of Aragon.—

"King Ferdinand alone did stand one day upon the hill,  
Surveying all his leaguers, and the ramparts of Seville;  
The sight was grand, when Ferdinand by proud Seville was lying,  
O'er tower and tree far off to see the Christian banners flying.

"That day the Lord of Vargas came to the camp alone ;  
The scarf, his lady's largess, around his heart was thrown ;  
Bare was his head, his sword was red, and, from his pommel strung,  
Seven turbans green, sore hacked I ween, before Don Garci hung."

"Above all others there signalized himself in these affairs (the conquest of Seville) that Garci Perez de Vargas, a native of Toledo, of whose valor so many marvellous and almost incredible achievements are related. One day, about the beginning of the siege, this Garci and another with him were riding by the side of the river at some distance from the outposts, when of a sudden there came upon them a party of seven Moors on horseback. The companion of Perez was for returning immediately, but he replied that "Never, even though he should lose his life for it, would he consent to the baseness of flight." With that his companion riding off, Perez armed himself, closed his vizor, and put his lance in rest. But the enemies, when they knew who it was, declined the combat. He had therefore pursued his way by himself for some space, when he perceived that in lacing the head-piece and shutting the vizor, he had, by inadvertence, dropped his scarf. He immediately returned upon his steps, that he might seek for it. The king, as it happened, had his eyes upon Perez all this time ; for the royal tent looked towards the place where he was riding ; and he never doubted that the knight had turned back for the purpose of provoking the Moors to the combat. But they avoided him as before, and he, having regained his scarf, came in safety to the camp."—Such is one of the innumerable incidents recounted by Mariana of Ferdinand's

expedition in the south — such incidents as the high-souled ballad writers and their Scotch interpreter delighted in. Whether true or false, their spirit is characteristic, and they show the knightly coloring of these romantic contests.

The next reign is the most important that we have hitherto reached, and of singular interest to Spanish literature and legislation — that of Alfonso X., the *Learned*.

This prince reigned from 1252 to 1284, a period of thirty-two years, filled with strange vicissitudes and misfortunes. He was the most learned prince of his time; a troubadour, a geometrician, an astronomer, "he was more fit for letters, than for the government of his subjects; he studied the heavens, and watched the stars, but forgot the earth, and lost his kingdom," says Mariana, (in Ticknor). A man of extensive political, philosophic, and linguistic attainments; at one period of his life elected Emperor of Germany, but set aside by Rudolph of Habsburg, (1273); the creator of Castilian prose, the compiler of the famous Alfonsine astronomical tables, and the author in part of a great work on legislation which even now is an authority in both hemispheres; a composer of hundreds of canticles in the Galician dialect; a seeker after the philosopher's stone; his chief claim to recognition is literary and legislative. He first made the Castilian a national language by causing the Bible to be translated into it, and requiring it to be used in all legal proceedings; and by his great code, his chronicle, his compilations on the Holy Land, the probable translation under him of the *Fuero Juzgo* or *forum judicum*, (a collection of

Visigothic laws, which, in 1241, Saint Ferdinand sent to Cordova as the law to be observed in the newly conquered territory), he showed the extraordinary far-sightedness and breadth of his intellect. Ferdinand III. did not live to see his project of one code for all Christian Spain under his sceptre realized. Alfonso attempted to carry out his father's beneficent plan; put forth a body of laws called the "Mirror of all Rights," which did not apparently go into practical effect; then his shorter code for Valladolid, called *Fuero Real*, (1255); and finally his noble work, *Las Siete Partidas* (The Seven Parts, from its divisions), called originally by Alfonso, himself, *El Setenario*, from the title of the code undertaken by his father. This was a compilation or encyclopædia of legislative usage, drawn by Alfonso and his collaborators, from the *Decretals*, the *Digest* and *Code* of Justinian, the *Fuero Juzgo*, and other foreign and domestic sources, so skilfully executed in style, that Alfonso's literary taste is readily traceable throughout it. It forms the body of the Spanish common law,\* the basis of all Spanish jurisprudence in Europe and America since its adoption, in 1348, as of binding authority in all the territories held by the kings of Castile and Leon, and its spirit is that of a reaction against the nobility, of a consolidation of the monarchical principle, and of plenary recognition of the Church.

A sort of Spanish James I., as he has been called, — passionate, vain, learned, a singular mixture of puerility and strength, — Alfonso X., instead of expelling the Moors, and accomplishing the great work begun by his father, treated with them, and threw himself into the arms of Yousof, Emir of Morocco; permitted the

\* See Ticknor, Vol. I., pp. 37-59.

princes and nobles to combat him and their own country ; gave free range to the civil conflicts which, at the end of the thirteenth century, began all over Europe to take the place of the Crusades ; and, after recounting in his will the wrongs and black ingratitude he had suffered from his son, Sancho, he left him the kingdom, though it should have descended to his grandson, son of the heir apparent, Don Ferdinand. The stain of blood likewise clings to his memory, for he caused his own brother to be strangled in 1277, because he had favored the flight of the Queen Violante to Aragon, with her two grandsons, the famous and unfortunate infants of La Cerda. They were the sons of Don Ferdinand, who died in 1275.

Ben Alahmar, emir of Granada, virtually founded the kingdom of Granada during this reign — a compact, populous, and warlike sovereignty which recognized the suzerainty of Castile, and was a great school of arts, sciences, and intellectual culture, for the whole country. The present Alhambra began to rise under Alahmar's care, and the ancient splendor of the khalfate revived for a time in his diminutive realm.

## CHAPTER X.

### FROM THE ALMORAVIDE CONQUEST TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

[CONTINUED.]

WHILE Castile was sinking into the abyss of civil war, Aragon, under the able reign of Pedro the Great, (III.,) from 1276 to 1285, was developing extensively within and without. This prince repulsed successfully the French invasion under Philip, planted the banner of Aragon in Sicily, mingled the narrow current of Spanish politics with the vast stream of European diplomacy, entered the lists with the papacy, and showed for the first time, with his contemporary, Alfonso X., that statesmen had taken the place of saints and heroes on the thrones of Castile and Aragon. The Sicilians, after the sanguinary episode of the Sicilian Vespers, in 1282, expelled the house of Anjou from the land, and offered the crown to the king of Aragon, "au nom de Dieu et de Madame Sainte Marie." The nobles and burghers of Aragon having united themselves in a solemn *Union* for the defence of their *fueros* against the royal encroachments, Don Pedro gave them satisfaction in an act (1283) known as the *Privilegio General*, the *magna charta* of Aragon, "a basis of civil liberty," says Hallam, "perhaps even more satisfactory than ours," granted to "rebels on

their knees." The act exhibits a striking harmony between the character and institutions of the English and the Aragonese; the love of freedom, of law, of independence of the individual, of private and political rights, and the restoration of ancient franchises, rather than the conquest of new.

Pedro bequeathed Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, to his eldest son, Alfonso, with the suzerainty of Majorca, Cerdagne, and Roussillon, and to Don Jayme, his second son, the kingdom of Sicily, and the Italian conquests.

From 1284 to 1295 Sancho IV. exercised vigorous sway over Castile; "immediately," says the chronicle, "all the wars ceased as if by enchantment, as soon as men knew Sancho was king!" He drove the emir of Morocco, in 1291, back into Africa, and closed his too brief life in 1295, leaving his kingdom to his son, the minor, Ferdinand IV., (called *The Put-off*), with his mother, Doña Maria, as guardian. Sancho reconstructed the power which Alfonso X. had let drop to pieces, and effaced by the vigor of his government, the crime of having killed his father of grief. Ferdinand died, affected by a sort of superstitious terror, in 1312. It seems that the king had caused two gentlemen, accused of murder, to be put to death without judicial inquiry. They protested their innocence, and summoned the king to appear in thirty days, before the tribunal of God. Ferdinand's health, already undermined, rapidly gave way, and he expired at the very hour when the thirty days ran out.

During his reign was begun in Aragon and Castile the well known process against the Templars, — initiated in

France by Philip the Fair,—whose order was dissolved in 1312, after a duration of one hundred and eighty-four years. In Aragon, Castile, and Portugal, however, owing to the eternal crusade against the Moors, it was allowed to exist. The imputed crime seems to have been enormous wealth, idolatry, and the envy, mingled with dread, which a vast and opulent organization inspired.

The most salient result of the reign of Alfonso III. of Aragon (1285–1291) was the immense increase of the power of the *ricos omes*, or great vassals, and of the communities at the expense of the royal prerogative. Alfonso's single claim to immortality rests perhaps in three lines of Dante.

“E se rè dopo lui fosse rimasto  
Lo giovinetto, che retro à lui siede,  
Bene andava il valor di vaso in vaso.” (St. Hilaire.)

The surname of the *Magnificent* applied to him will give an idea of the main feature of his character. Jayme the Justice, second of the name and brother of Alfonso, succeeded him, and ruled till 1327—a reign filled with success abroad and peace at home. “It is as hard to separate the Aragonese as it is to unite the Castilians,” said Ferdinand the Catholic of these very distinct provinces. Jayme's Aragonese people aided him patriotically in his enterprises; he was invested with the sovereignty of Corsica and Sardinia by the pope; Sicily was abandoned; the high nobility were continually struggled against; the franchises of the people protected; the *Justice*, that characteristic institution of Aragon, carefully guarded in his rights and procedure, and a universal respect for law inculcated.

On the death of Jeanne, Queen of France and Na-

varre, in 1307, her son, Louis-le-Hutin became king of Navarre and swore to maintain the *fueros* of the country. Two years before, Clement V. had abandoned Rome and established himself at Avignon, thus putting the pontificate into the hands of Philip the Fair. The coronation-feast of Jeanne of Navarre, daughter of Louis-le-Hutin, and her husband, the Comte d'Evreux, in 1329, was enlivened by the episode of the massacre of ten thousand Jews in the city of Estella.

The series of great princes that succeeded one another in Aragon continued through Jayme II. and Alfonso IV. the *Benign*, to Pedro IV., son of the last. The noble figure of Pedro IV. already, in his father's lifetime, overshadowed his parent's. The furious wars between Aragon and Genoa — the great commercial competitors of the Mediterranean — assumed a character of ferocity under Alfonso, which recalls the struggle between Rome and Carthage, on a sea where the blood-thirsty rivals, in their passion for commerce, were doomed to meet at every point.

"Castile has just lost one of its noblest kings," cried the Emir of Granada at the death of Alfonso XI. in 1350, and the Emir and his chieftains wore mourning for the deceased king and let his body pass undisturbed. He died of the Black Death, near Gibraltar, — a pestilence then devastating Europe.

The cortes of Alcalá in 1348, is celebrated for the proclamation of the Partidas as national laws, "in as far as they were not contrary to the laws of the kingdom, to God, and to reason."

The germs of ultramontanism and monarchical absolutism contained in Alfonso X.'s code, bore abundant

fruit in the following reigns. About 1330, Alfonso XI. began the *liaison* with Leonora de Guzman, who became the mother of Don Enrique of Trastamara, slayer of his brother, Don Pedro, king of Castile. Her beauty and charms had fascinated the inconstant monarch. Inflexibly just, Alfonso did all he could to reduce the brawling grandees to obedience ; he razed their castles, summoned them to lay down their arms and resort to legal means to terminate their feuds ; and utilized their newly harmonized strength in the great battle of *Rio Salado*, against the Moors, in 1340. Here infidels fell in miraculous abundance — two hundred thousand out of five hundred thousand ; and Christians in miraculous paucity — twenty Castilians ! And from this day forward, Africa was pushed back forever beyond the strait ; the emirate of Granada, abandoned to itself, sank more and more in the face of the Christian monarchies perpetually on the alert to seek out its ruin ; and the way was opened for the Catholic kings to fulfil their vows of putting the misbelievers from the land. The battle was fought near Algeziras, opposite Gibraltar, against the almost countless hosts of the two allied Emirs of Morocco and Granada.

This is the last of the Alfonsos of Castile, until the coronation of Alfonso XII. in our days.

Don Pedro of Castile, first of the name, left behind, in his sobriquet of *Cruel*, the memory of a Tiberius. His cruelty was constitutional ; he had an instinctive thirst for blood ; he was an unmanageable voluptuary ; and he murdered right and left within the limits of his own family until he had nearly extirpated it. He died, stabbed to the heart in a fierce struggle with his half-

brother Don Enrique, in 1369, leaving enormous wealth in diamonds, gold and silver, and precious stuffs, and became ever memorable for his illegitimate union with Doña Maria de Padilla, a noble Spanish lady ; for the murder of his unfortunate wife, Blanche of France, of the lineage of the *fleur de lys* ; for his implacable rigor towards the nobles ; and his base covetousness, perfidy, and vulgarity. A Jew, Samuel Levi, as usual with the Castilian kings, was his treasurer, and Pedro's base treachery to him is historical. He was contemporary with that Don Pedro of Portugal whose amours with Inez de Castro have gained such tragic celebrity. The pope launched the interdict against him "as an adulterer and bigamist, the enemy of God and the church." His rupture with Aragon in 1356 brought the Castilian flag under the walls of one of the Aragonese capitals and cost the king of Aragon his crown and life. He slew the grandmaster of Santiago (his half-brother) ; the *Adelantado* of Castile (Garcilaso de la Vega) ; the mother of his half-brothers ; the Infant Don Juan of Aragon ; his own aunt Doña Leonora of Aragon ; Don Juan and Don Pedro (his half brothers) ; and a long list of other relations and friends. The death of Doña Maria de Padilla — pure-hearted, good, and charitable as she was — filled him with a frenzy of love and despair. The emir of Granada with fifty of his noblest *sheikhs*, who had sought the hospitality of Pedro, had their throats cut in Seville by his order (1362). In his bitter war against Aragon and France, he allied himself with Edward III. of England and the Black Prince, with Navarre and Granada, whilst Pedro of Aragon recognized Don Enrique of Castile as sole king of that land,

and strengthened himself by the project of a double marriage between the houses of France and Aragon. Pedro's superstition was at least equal to his ferocity and impurity; for, escaping from imminent danger in 1365, he ran to church barefooted, in his shirt, with a rope round his neck, to thank "Madame Sainte Marie" for saving his life. Unfortunately for him, France was then scourged by the host of Breton adventurers called the *Great Companies*; men habituated to live on plunder, reduced to inactivity by the peace just concluded with England, and threatening universal disorder to the realm of Charles V. Headed by the illustrious chief Bertrand Du Guesclin, they were engaged by Don Enrique and the king of Aragon to drive out Pedro the Cruel (who had just been excommunicated by Urban), and avenge the death of Blanche. They arrived thirty thousand in number, — Gascons, English, and Bretons, — in Barcelona, in 1365. Pedro fled the kingdom, after murdering the archbishop of Santiago to procure means for a new campaign for the restoration of his rights, and was received with chivalric courtesy by the Black prince "in the name of God and St. George." The Black Prince put at Pedro's service the forces of England and of half of France. Froissart, in his inimitable narrative, tells the story of the contest; and the war-cries "Guyenne and St. George!" "Castile and Santiago!" echo lustily through his pages. Pedro and the English were at first victorious; but the fruit, the heat, the *air d'Espagne*, ruined the health of the English auxiliaries and caused them to withdraw. Pedro, after a brief restoration to power, was shut up in the château of Montiel so closely that "a bird could not

have left the castle without being seen." Du Guesclin besieged him, and treacherously delivered him over to Don Enrique. In the savage struggle that ensued between the brothers, the poniard of Don Enrique put an end to the life of the miserable barbarian. Cries of "Castile and Enrique II.," now floated exultingly on the air, while the execrated corpse of the master lay for three days on the earth exposed to the maledictions of the Spaniards.

"Much grieved the bowman for her tears, and for her beauty's sake,  
While thus Queen Blanche of Bourbon her last complaint did make:  
O France my noble country! O blood of high Bourbon!  
Not eighteen years have I seen out before my life is gone.  
The king hath never known me. A virgin true I die.  
Whate'er I've done, to proud Castile no treason e'er did I."

"The Queen Blanche had been banished to the castle of Medina-Sidonia, — the adjoining territory being assigned to her for her maintenance. One of her vassals, a Jew, presumed to do his homage in the usual fashion, that is, by kissing Blanche on the cheek, ere his true character was suspected either by her or her attendants. No sooner was the man known to be a Jew, than he was driven from the presence of the queen with every mark of insult; and this sunk so deeply into his mind, that he determined to revenge himself, if possible, by the death of Blanche. He told his story to Maria de Padilla, who prevailed on the king to suffer him to take his own measures; and he accordingly surprised the castle by night, at the head of a troop of his countrymen, and butchered the unhappy lady." Such is the legend of the death of Queen Blanche, as told in the old French memoirs of Du Guesclin, quoted by Lockhart.



**SPAIN & PORTUGAL**  
FROM THE DOWNFALL OF THE  
OMAIYADES  
TO THE  
BATTLE OF ZALLACA.

TO THE  
LIBRARY OF THE  
CONGRESS

The story of Don Pedro's death is told in Froissart : "In the course of an hour Enrique was apprised that he was taken, and came with some of his followers to the tent of Allan de la Houssaye, where his unfortunate brother had been placed. On entering it he exclaimed, 'Where is that whoreson and Jew who calls himself king of Castile?' Pedro, as proud and fearless as he was cruel, stepped instantly forward, and replied, 'Here I stand, the lawful son and heir of Don Alfonso, and it is thou that art but a false bastard.' 'The rival brethren instantly grappled like lions, the French knights and Du Guesclin himself looking on. Enrique drew his poniard, and wounded Pedro in the face, but his body was defended by a coat of mail. A violent struggle ensued. Enrique fell across a bench, and his brother, being uppermost, had well nigh mastered him, when one of Enrique's followers, seizing Don Pedro by the leg, turned him over, and his master, thus at length gaining the upper hand, instantly stabbed the king to the heart.

"Pedro's head" says Lockhart, "was cut off, and his remains meanly buried. They were afterwards disinterred by his daughter, the wife of our own John of Gaunt, 'time-honored Lancaster,' and deposited in Seville, with the honors due to his rank."

"Thus with mortal gasp and quiver, while the blood in bubbles welled,  
Fled the fiercest soul that ever in a Christian bosom dwelled."

*Scott.*

A glance at some of the peculiar institutions of feudal Spain is necessary to understand the further history of the country.

The feudal system arrived at its complete development in the fourteenth century, but in Castile it was variously modified by the character of the people. The slave was gradually replaced in the middle ages by the serf, an immense step towards freedom. Up to the eleventh century the mass of the servile population, so enormous under the Gothic supremacy, does not seem to have diminished. The permanent war against the Arabs, while recruiting the servile population, must however have contributed to the emancipation of the Christian slaves, who became more and more rare as the feudal organization develops. Yet the slave trade continued vigorously till the fourteenth century; Christians sold one another, and Jew slaves existed down to the times of Philip II. Captivity in war, birth, and voluntary servitude were the three great sources of slavery recognized by Alfonso X; and countless minute regulations existed as to the relations between masters and slaves, manumission, and the like, which show a steady advance over the *thing*, as the slave was regarded, of the Gothic code. The Spanish serf, superior to his European brethren, could change his lord at will, and quit the glebe which he cultivated. The source of serfage in the peninsula lay in the Roman system of *Coloni*, a class intermediate between the slave and free man, and the Gothic system of client and patron, which imposed the obligation to bear arms in defence of the patron. The class of serfs increased out of the *débris* of slavery, the emancipated Christian slaves, Saracen captives, tributary Mussulmans, and petty proprietors who voluntarily became "liege men." This lower order of the feudal hierarchy constituted the foundation for

the higher members of the system: the high barons, direct vassals of the sovereign, and the vassals of these, who yielded military service to their suzerain in exchange for their feoffs. Early Spanish history shows us, on one side, the spectacle of the kings, communes, and clergy in league, supporting themselves upon the Gothic code and the municipal *fueros* which proceeded from the king; and, on the other, the nobility, surrounded by its numerous vassals, opposing to the written monarchical or municipal law its seignorial *fueros*, as seen in the *Fuero Viejo* wrung from Alfonso X.

The salient feature of Castilian feudalism is that the vassalage it entailed was but temporary, and not fixed, and the free will of the vassal was his inalienable possession. It will be impossible to enter into the details, as shown by the *Fuero Viejo* and the *Partidas*, of the nature of the feoff, and the laws that regulate it; the relations between the suzerain and his vassals; the different forms of feudal property; the different classes of serfs attached to it; the burdens resting on these serfs; and the gradual growth and establishment of hereditary in the holding of the feoffs. We shall simply call attention to the prominence of individual will throughout the system, resulting in the factious independence of the nobles, and the progress of the communities in power and freedom, peopled as they were largely from the serf class escaped from the nobiliary glebe. The emancipation of the territory from the Moors went hand in hand with the progress of the vassals of the crown, and the vassals of the nobles towards independence and comfort. Political franchises followed local franchises; representative gov-

ernment sprang up out of the embarrassments of the royal authority ; and the emancipated communities soon began a struggle of two centuries with the nobility, only to end in fatal disaster in the reigns of Charles and Philip.

Pedro IV. of Aragon, the *Ceremonious*, in his reign of



DON PEDRO THE CEREMONIOUS.

more than half a century (1336–1387), was constantly harassed by foreign and domestic wars. Pursued from infancy by the hatred of his step-mother, Leonor, sister of Alfonso XI. of Castile, and queen dowager of Aragon ; passing his life in everlasting struggle, and vanquishing in the end by means of a duplicity as patient

as it was untiring ; shedding the blood of his own brother, and employing the sword or prison against those whom he hated ; his icy rigor was in chilling contrast with the ferocious passionateness and ability of his contemporary, Pedro of Castile, Vengeance for him was a means, never an end ; he could both punish and pardon when necessary ; he liked to surround himself, like Louis XI. and Philip the Fair, with men of the law, and admitted them into his councils ; and in peace and war he was always followed by two legists and two gentlemen as representatives of the two rival orders of Aragon, equally at dagger's point with the high nobility. A frail and sickly body enshrined this punctilious and inflexible soul ; Pedro was a devotee of alchemy and astronomy ; his morality was a worship of conventionalities, and yet he may be called the greatest of the kings of Aragon before Ferdinand the Catholic. In 1344 he dispossessed Jayme II., and incorporated the kingdom of Majorca with Aragon. A great prince and politician after the model of Machiavelli, he drank gracefully the chalice of humiliation put to his lips by the rebellious nobles of the *Union*, who extorted from him a confirmation of their privileges, so dear to the Aragonese. But he had his revenge on the battle-field of Epila in 1348, when the party of the *Union*—embracing the capital and chief cities of Aragon, headed by the Infant Don Ferdinand—was utterly routed, the ancient privilege allowing the Aragonese to *unite* for the defence of their laws, abolished, and the fatal ascendancy of the aristocracy broken. Pedro, however, strengthened the authority of the *justice* and avenged himself nobly by extending rather than curtailing the

privileges and franchises of his people at the great cortes of Saragossa. He prudently took little part in the great *Schism of the West* (1378-1417) which gave to the church two rival popes, Urban VI. at Rome, and Clement VII. at Avignon, and renounced the crown of Sicily in favor of Don Martin, his son.

"Law first, kings afterwards," is the proud device of Aragon, and in casting a retrospective glance on the origin of its special institutions we are struck with this ever-present love and preponderance of legality over force. A kingdom dating from the eleventh century, Aragon differs from Castile in extorting its franchises one by one from its rulers, rather than in holding them by the investiture of its rulers. While Castile is a truer representative of the Spanish genius, Aragon is its noblest product. The Frankish or Germanic element in its manners and legislation contributed no little to that passion for freedom which is the most marked feature of Aragon. Its *ricos omes*, or great vassals, planted themselves on their *Privilegio General*; their feoffs became hereditary from the twelfth century; they transmitted them as in Castile without observing the law of primogeniture; and their caste interest made them watch vigilantly over the liberties of the country. The various orders of inferior nobility — the *mesuadero*, his sons the *infanzones*, who corresponded to the Castilian *hidalgo*, and the *caballeros*, — all had their special rights and immunities, more or less colored by the same freedom-loving spirit. While in Castile the clergy was nearly all-powerful, from the times of the Goths to Alfonso X., it is only in 1301 that they obtained a seat in the Cortes of Aragon, as the last come and least influen-

tial of the orders of the state. The communal *fueros* of the country originated, as in Castile, from the necessity of peopling a newly acquired territory by liberal immunities, like that of Saragossa wrested from the infidels in 1118 by Alfonso I. Aristocratic is the word which best describes the institutions of Aragon, monarchical, those of Castile, and democratic those of Catalonia. In Aragon, distrust of the royal power is as old as the royal power itself; the king was "the first among equals," and up to the thirteenth century he was not crowned. The famous formula attributed to the *ricos omes* of Aragon, shows the spirit of equality rife. "We, each of whom is as good as you and who all together are more powerful, make you our king, as long as you shall keep our *fueros*; otherwise, not." So that it was truly said that monarchy in Aragon was in an attitude of permanent suspicion in the eyes of the country.

The position of the *justice* of Aragon, at first a mere mouthpiece of the decisions of king, bishops, and *ricos omes*, becomes independent on the abolition of the *privileges of the Union* by Pedro IV. in 1348; his office was life-long; he was chosen from among the gentry, and his power was so great that even Philip II. was compelled to plead before him. He was the tutelary genius and guardian of the liberties of the country. His business was to remain at court within the limits of Aragon, to examine cases and hear pleas in the king's absence, and pronounce without personal responsibility the decisions reached by the assembled grandees, clergy, and sovereign. His authority continually increased at the expense of the royal prerogative, and he became, finally, the supreme legal protector of the oppressed against all

injustice. A secret commission of *inquisitors*, as they were called, watched over his decisions. The bloody death of the forty-ninth and last of the Justices, in 1598, under Philip II., drew with it the ruin and effacement of all the liberties of the people, and left a free career for the Austrian and Bourbon despotisms ensuing.

Between the commercial Catalonians and the agricultural Aragonese there were many differences. Family names, language, literature, dignities, manners, laws, and coins, connect Catalonia intimately with the south of France. For a century and a half the counts of Barcelona were, as has been said, *à cheval* on the Pyrenees, and belonged as much to France as to Spain. The Frankish domination is faithfully reflected in the Catalonian *Usages*, the basis of the Catalonian civil constitution and one of the oldest of the customary codes of Spain (1068). Catalonia was emancipated in the tenth century from the yoke of the Carolingian kings; its union with Aragon doubled its power; so that finally the troubadours of Provence sang the exploits of the *emperors of Barcelona*. Mercantile conquest — furious competition with Genoa and Venice — is the watchword of Catalonia; the *magnificos* of Barcelona could sit down with their hats on before the king; a democratic spirit pervaded the whole municipal constitution of the province, and they guarded their liberties without a Justice. Their maritime code was famous; the vast naval expeditions of Pedro III. and his successors, against Sicily and Sardinia, gave their marine an immense impulse. In its *Book of Gold* were inscribed the names of the merchant aristocracy of Bar-

celona. Aragon is Spanish in idiom, in tenacity of purpose, and in narrow and exclusive patriotism. Catalonia is French in dialect and habitudes, and is French, Italian, or Spanish, according to the interests and alliances of the moment.

The decade of the reign of Enrique II., the Cavalier, ended in 1379 with his sudden death, attributed to poison emanating from a pair of boots sent to him by the Emir of Granada. Though a usurper, Enrique was worthy of the throne which he had gained by the life of his brother, and opposed successfully the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugal, who pretended to the crown of Castile, the former through his wife, daughter of Pedro the Cruel. In 1390, Don Juan I., Enrique's son, perished in an accident, his horse having fallen on him. He had claimed the succession and arms of his father-in-law, the king of Portugal, whose daughter Beatrix he had married. A bloody contest ensued with the bastard João I., whom the Portuguese had proclaimed king. The celebrated battle of Aljubarota, described with such animation and picturesqueness by Froissart, was fought in 1385, "au nom de Dieu et de Monseigneur Saint Jacques," and lost by the Castilians. The disastrous English invasion ensued; Santiago fell, and the duke of Lancaster assumed the title of king, with the arms of Castile, Leon, and France. The death of Charles the Bad, of Navarre, in 1386 rid Spain of an indefatigable discord-breeder; and the withdrawal of the English, devoured by ill-health and failure, left Galicia once more free. From 1388, the heir-apparent of Castile assumed the title of prince of the Asturias.

The cortes of Guadalajára, held in 1390, left its mark

on the legislation of the country by extensive increase of rights and privileges.

Enrique III., the Infirm, a boy of eleven, succeeded his father, but was soon bewailed for his early death and great though undeveloped qualities (1406). His chief enemies were his own subjects, headed by the Archbishop of Toledo, the duke of Beneventum, and the count of Trastamara, who leagued together to get the young king into their power. The Emirs of Granada had meanwhile cautiously cultivated the good will of Castile, and endeavored to live at peace with the Christians. Frontier wars, however, broke out intermittently and never absolutely ceased till the conquest of Granada.

Juan the Careless of Aragon (1387-1395), first of the name, an indolent voluptuary, lived unworthy of his great father Pedro the Ceremonious, and, like his Castilian contemporary and namesake, was killed by a fall from his horse.

Relaxation of morals and a dissipated court resulted from his ignoble sway, varied by the king's passion for hunting, music, and poetry. His court was the gayest and most splendid in Christendom. Don Martin, his brother, disembarked in Barcelona in 1396, and succeeded, in default of male heirs to the king, to the throne. He had been absent in Sicily, engaged in conquering a kingdom for his son. The kingdom of Aragon, whose cradle had been an obscure corner of the Pyrenees, had come gradually to spread itself over the three great islands of Italy, — Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, — and cover the Mediterranean and its shores with its fleets and banking-houses. Under Mar-

tin — whose heir, the infant king of Sicily, and duke of Athens and Neopatria, was carried off by the pestiferous air of Sardinia — the Italian wars went on unendingly with the House of Anjou. Martin died without male heirs in 1410, tormented by an unmanageable obesity, and with him expired the direct race of the counts of Barcelona who for three hundred years had



ALVARO DE LUNA.

given to Aragon a series of kings such as are rarely seen in history. An interregnum of two years ensued, which rang with the conflicts of the five contestants for the throne. Chief among these were the Infant of Castile, Don Ferdinand, and the count of Urgel, great-grandson of Jayme II. Don Ferdinand was brother of Enrique III. and nephew of Martin, as son of his sister Leonor, who had married King Juan of Castile. The case was at length decided by arbitration in favor of

Ferdinand (1412), the matter having been put into the hands of nine arbiters, three from Aragon, three from Catalonia, and three from Valencia.

The reign of Ferdinand I., the Just, lasted but two years, and he left the repute of a simple-hearted, high-minded, and irreproachable king behind him. He withdrew his support from Benedict XIII., who had taken up his residence in a fort in Aragon, and appealed to the decrees of the council of Constance, then sitting "at the centre of Christendom," with the aim of restoring unity and peace to the dismembered church. His early death prevented the accomplishment of his great projects.

Juan II. of Castile died in 1454, regretting "not having been born in the hut of an obscure artisan rather than on the throne of Castile." His minority had been conscientiously watched over by his uncle, Ferdinand I. of Aragon, Alvar de Luna, the bastard constable of Castile,—so famous for his enormous power and ignominious death on the scaffold, when Juan had become tired of him,—was his prime minister. A singing, dancing, weak-minded king, Juan's sole merit in history is that of being the father of the illustrious Isabella (born in 1451). He married the Infanta Maria, daughter of the late King Ferdinand of Aragon, and then Isabel of Portugal who brought about the ruin of Luna. At the death of Charles the Noble, king of Navarre (1387-1425), the latter's son-in-law, Don Juan of Aragon, was proclaimed king; and thus the house of Castile came to occupy three of the thrones of the peninsula, prophetic of their near union under Ferdi-

nand and Isabella. Navarre, from 1284 to 1328, had been virtually ruled by French viceroys.

The Emirate of Granada meanwhile (1423) remained in peaceful dependence on Castile, interrupted in 1430 by the usual raids; and Juan, instead of taking Granada, as he might have done, amused himself holding Alvar de Luna's children over the baptismal font, or in desultory wars with Navarre and Aragon.

Aragon from 1416 to 1458 was ruled by Alfonso V., who died at Naples in 1458, and left Aragon to his brother Juan, king of Navarre, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to his natural son Ferdinand. Alfonso passed most of his life in his beautiful Italian dominions—a sort of royal *émigré*—and through him the politics of Aragon gravitated more and more towards Italy, as a precursor of the reign of his nephew, Ferdinand the Catholic. His Italian conquests were situated too far from his hereditary possessions to add much to their force. Surrounded by poets and scholars, he loved literature, delighted in reading Quintus Curtius and Cæsar's Commentaries, and dismissed his musicians "because their harmony would never equal that of the divine Tully." Defeated and captured by the Genoese, in a great naval battle in 1435, he bore his captivity like a king, being treated and released with true magnanimity by his foe, the duke of Milan. In 1443 he again entered Naples in triumph.

The sway of Enrique IV. of Castile, called the Impotent, was a long disgrace and failure of one-and-twenty years. Gentle and benevolent, his weaknesses arose from kindness of heart. A lute-player, lover of sad songs, founder of churches and monasteries, alms-

giver, brought up in unrestrained luxury, and with voluptuous tastes, he fell under the influence of the favorite Villena, as his father had done under that of Alvar de Luna, and left his country plunged in uncertainty as to the succession.

## CHAPTER XI.

### REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

**W**E have now reached a point in the history of Spain when the numerous petty kingdoms filling the northern, southern, and central portions of the peninsula — Castile, Aragon, Navarre and the Moorish kingdom of Granada, — different as they were in character, race, and institutions, — were gradually amalgamated into one comprehensive nationality, about to enter on the arena of European politics and prepared to exercise the mighty influence which made Spain all-powerful under Charles V. and Philip II.

Navarre protected by its mountainous situation, was still independent. Aragon, embracing the provinces of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, possessed of free institutions and great moral and intellectual energy, commanded a wealthy and extensive commerce in the Mediterranean. Leon, Biscay, Galicia, Old and New Castile, the Asturias, Andalusia, Murcia and Estremadura, belonged to the crown of Castile, a circumstance which, on the consolidation of the provinces under one head, gave its capital, language, and literature the pre-eminence.

A spirit of liberty, law, and wise legislation had been imprinted on the inhabitants of Spain by the Visigoths

in the fifth century, and this spirit of free and noble development was greatly favored by the Saracen conquest of the eighth century ; for, though entirely dissimilar in political and religious institutions, the Arabs were tolerant, liberal, and enlightened, and insensibly inspired their enemies with the same principles. The lax morals of the clergy, under the enjoyment of long uninterrupted prosperity, and the luxurious habits of the nobles, were entirely reformed by this sudden and overwhelming invasion. The necessity of maintaining what little ground was left to them, compelled the Spaniards to lay the foundations of a bold and temperate character. The re-conquest was a matter of centuries. Intestine discords cost rivers of blood. Nearly four hundred and fifty years passed before the Spaniards had even advanced their line of conquest to the Tagus and though ultimately successful in recovering the lost territory, it was only after the abandonment of voluptuous habits and the awakening of a burning religious enthusiasm, sullied as it was by ferocious bigotry and fierce fanaticism, that the Crescent of Islâm began to wane and waver, and eventually sink, before the soldiers of the Cross. Romance, poetry, chivalry, knightly accomplishments of every sort, distinguished these wars. The Arabian minstrels sang the strange melodies of the Semitic race, rich in sensuous glow, hyperbole, and imagery ; the Spaniards were fired by the magnificent ballads of the Cid, while both sides were characterized by more or less of Quixotic gallantry.

The exposed position of Castile necessitated great vigilance, strongly fortified towns, immense levies of

citizens for home defence ; and along with all this came many extraordinary privileges relating to municipal self-government, protection of life, liberty, and property, rights of jurisdiction, election of judicial officers, and collections and commutations of tallages and taxes, in singular contrast with the feudal servitude of the rest of Europe at that day. The first Cortes was summoned in 1169, composed of one deputy from each city. The sanction of the nobility and clergy was not deemed essential to the validity of legislative acts, while the popular branch would impose no tax without the consent of its own members, collected the revenue carefully, watched over appropriations and expenditures, vigilantly inspected the administration of justice, entered into negotiations for alliances, voted supplies for the maintenance of the army, nominated regencies, insisted on their right to recognize the validity of a title of the crown, and occasionally even set aside the direct will of a sovereign as expressed in his testament. This boldness and wisdom seems to have characterized the Castilian corporations from the beginning.

Another peculiar institution of Castile was the *Hermandad* or Brotherhood, an association of the cities leagued together for the defence of their liberties in times of anarchy ; which was formed of deputies meeting at stated periods, transacted business under its own seal, and transmitted to the nobles and even the sovereign the laws enacted by it. Its measures were sometimes carried out by force.

Agriculture, mechanical arts, manufactures, architecture, grew gradually to considerable perfection. Many of the cities became immensely wealthy, and despite

sumptuary laws, expensive pleasures and luxurious tastes rapidly developed through the commonwealth.

Castile, so called from the innumerable *castles* which everywhere dotted its surface, possessed a powerful and warlike nobility, the higher class of which was called *ricos hombres*, who acted in war and peace like so many independent sovereigns, were exempt from taxation, torture, or imprisonment for debt, could renounce allegiance to the sovereign, appeal to private arms, monopolized all the higher offices of the state, accumulated huge estates, and from boyhood on lived lives of turbulence, self-aggrandizement, and martial exercise.

The *hidalgos* and *caballeros*, inferior in dignity to the *ricos hombres*, likewise had great privileges and immunities, and formed a brilliant and chivalric body, ready for the tilt and tourney, for warlike pageantry, or for attendance on the king.

The vast influence of ecclesiastics in Spain must not be overlooked, more especially as they vigorously co-operated in the wars against the infidel, led the soldiers to battle, sometimes crucifix in hand, and from the beginning exercised a marked ascendancy over the minds of the people. Illiberal, licentious, often shamelessly insensible even to the simplest rules of a moral and decent life, abounding in revenues, religious establishments, and privileges, they powerfully affected all classes of Spanish society; while the primacy of Spain, exercised by the archbishop of Toledo, was, after the papacy, the most splendid gift in the possession of the church.

Along with the wonderfully liberal organization of the popular institutions went a singular limitation of

royal prerogative. Though the crown, different from the system established by the Visigoths, was now no longer elective, the cortes could recognize or not, as it pleased, the title of the king and heir-apparent; an oath of allegiance was exacted from a new sovereign that he would keep the liberties of the cities inviolate; the sovereign was controlled by his privy council, and could not alienate the royal demesne, confer pensions above a certain amount, or nominate to vacant benefices without its consent; legislative powers were exercised by him in union with the cortes, and his judicial powers were circumscribed. Hence it has been well said that, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Castilian sovereign was possessed of less power, and the people of greater, than in any other European monarchy at that period — a fact which cannot be too emphatically kept in mind. Nobody imagines, however, that the system was perfect or worked perfectly. The *Hermidad* cultivated a spirit similar to the modern *Lynch Law*; jealousies existed between the orders; ministerial corruption, lack of co-operation, apotheosis of physical strength, dissension, and perpetual dread of preponderance of one order over the other, existed in very great degree. Yet, on the whole, the Castilian people were fortunate indeed in enjoying a degree of freedom unknown even in contemporary England, which did much to engender that unmanageable assumption of superiority which slowly developed into a national characteristic.

The union with Catalonia in the twelfth, and the conquest of Valencia in the thirteenth centuries, conspired to render Aragon, the most formidable of the peninsula

principalities with the exception of Castile and the Mahometan state. The princes of Aragon soon rose to great eminence and though extremely circumscribed in their constitutional powers, exercised, by means of the Catalan navy, the great affluence, intelligence, and liberality of the people of Barcelona, and a varied intercourse with foreign countries, a degree of power through Christendom quite disproportionate to the size and extent of their mountainous territory.

In 1319 the three great states constituting the Aragonese monarchy were declared by Jayme II. indivisible and inalienable; yet separate constitutions were maintained by each; characterized, however, by a striking affinity. Fragments of a written constitution, said to date from the ninth century, give us glimpses of the ancient code of Aragon. Few, but powerful, *ricos hombres* existed in Aragon, and the immunities and privileges enjoyed by them were considerable: exemption from taxation, corporal and capital punishment; unlimited criminal jurisdiction over certain classes of their vassals; possession of the highest political offices; distribution of territory re-conquered from the Moors; renunciation, almost at will, of allegiance to the king; the mischievous right of private war; with other privileges. These mighty barons, however, were slowly stripped of their authority by Pedro II., Jayme el Vencidor, and Ferdinand the Catholic. To keep the aristocracy within bounds, haughty with their consciousness of exclusive privileges, and intrenched in inaccessible Pyrenean fastnesses, required strong measures.

In 1287 the famous "Privileges of Union," authorizing his subjects to resort to arms on an infringement of

their liberties, were signed by Alfonso III., and it was said that the power of the king was as nothing before the formidable array which this union of nobles could bring into the field. Pedro IV., in 1348, defeated the army of the Union at Epila, the last of the battles in which it was permitted to the subject to take up arms against the sovereign for the cause of liberty; and convoking the assembly of the states at Saragossa, he tore the instrument containing the Privileges to pieces with his dagger. Having wounded himself during the destruction of the document, Pedro suffered the blood to flow upon the parchment, remarking that "a law which had been the occasion of so much blood, should be blotted out by the blood of a king." Continuing the ancient privileges of the realm and making salutary concessions here and there, protecting the court of the *Justice*, which interposed a barrier between tyranny and the popular license, and adjudicating causes by means of this tribunal rather than by resort to arms, Pedro IV. was virtually the founder of the constitutional liberty of Aragon; the cortes came gradually to exercise beneficent sway over the land; and Aragon entered on a period of uninterrupted tranquillity unexampled among the nations of Europe at the time. The *ricos hombres*, the knights and inferior nobility, the clergy, and the commons, composed the fourfold branches of the Aragonese Cortes, and here, as in Castile, high consideration was given to the commons. Popular representation in Aragon dates back to 1133. A precise parliamentary etiquette prevailed; the crown officers were excluded from the deliberations of the cortes; great scrupulousness in maintaining rights, forms, and

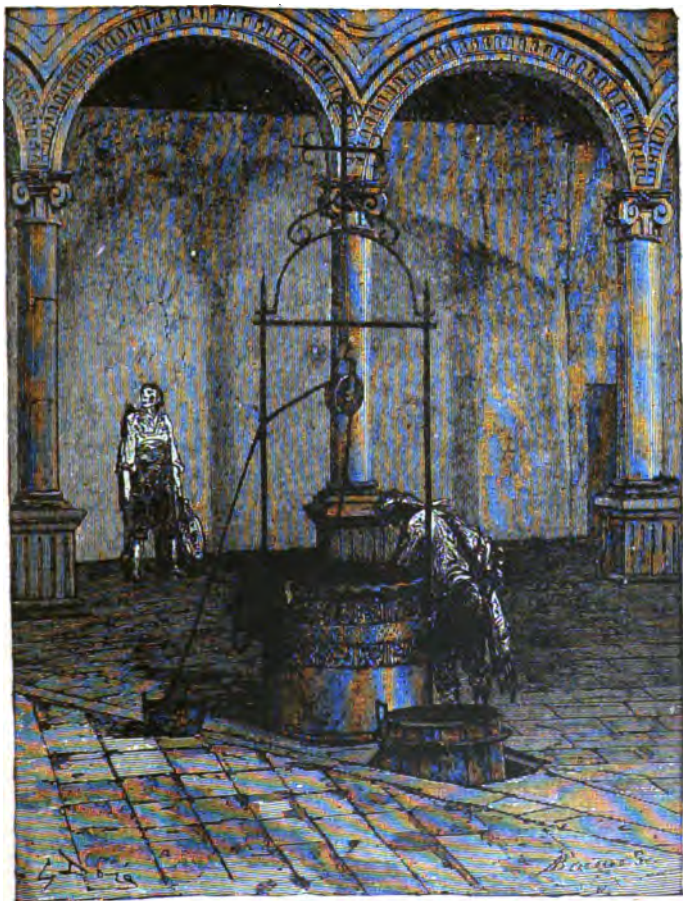
dignities was preserved ; subjects under deliberation were referred to committees ; a single formally registered *veto* from any member could defeat the passage of a bill, and the highest deliberative, judicial, and legislative functions, questions of war and peace, taxes, application of revenues to their specific purposes, the succession of the crown, removal of obnoxious ministers, imposition of sumptuary regulations, and granting or withholding of supplies, rested in their hands.

The General Privilege, granted by Pedro the Great in 1283, is the broadest basis of Aragonese liberties, and is distinguished by the equitable protection afforded to all classes ; it scrutinizes the administration of justice, investigates the powers of Cortes, preserves legal immunities, and secures property against crown exactions.

The *Justice* — an institution peculiar to Aragon — had supreme control in matters judicial ; he was the king's counsellor ; he administered the coronation oath ; he interposed authority between subject and sovereign, pronounced on the validity of royal ordinances, concurred with Cortes in suits against the crown, constituted a tribunal of appeal from territorial and royal judges, could remove prisoners from the jurisdiction of an inferior court into that of his own, and secure a defendant from molestation on his giving surety for his appearance.

Such is an outline of the extraordinary prerogatives of this supreme court, contained within the personality of a single individual.

The purity and integrity of the court were maintained by a long line of illustrious incumbents, who checked



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the usurpations of the crown, exerted a benign influence on society, and substituted peaceful arbitrament for sanguinary revolution. The last of forty-nine Justices was but to death by Philip II.

The governmental arrangements of Catalonia and Valencia were so similar to those of Aragon, saving the *Justicia*, that they do not demand separate discussion. The beautiful city of Barcelona, capital of Catalonia, was early distinguished for municipal privileges, unrivalled commercial prosperity, factories and manufactures of every kind. Cleanliness, splendor, and the benignity of an unsurpassed climate, contributed to its popularity and architectural excellence. The gorgeousness of the municipal processions recalls Venice; the democratic institutions of the town cultivated independence of bearing; and the glory of Catalan song, the illustrious troubadours of Catalonia, beautiful and poetic devotion "to the virgin, love, arms, and other good usages," rivalled, if they did not surpass, the reputation of the neighboring Provence, with which Catalonia was long united.

Such is a condensed outline of the state of things in Aragon and Castile, previous to the birth of Ferdinand and Isabella — events occurring respectively, April 22, 1451 (birth of Isabella, at Madrigal), and March 10, 1452 (birth of Ferdinand, at Sos in Aragon).

After long intestine feuds, bitter foreign wars, and a disputed succession, the tranquillity of Castile seemed at length secured by the marriage of Enrique III. with Catharine of Lancaster. But the premature death of Enrique, at the age of twenty-eight, blighted the hopes of the House of Trastamara, which had succeeded to

the throne in 1368, and left the government in the hand of his son, Juan II., a minor, during whose reign the greatest disasters befell Castile. Admirably governed during Juan's minority, the kingdom was at length delivered into his hands, when his incapacity for governing, his love of pleasure, and his blind subjection to favorites, soon became obvious. Alvaro de Luna, a bastard of the house of Aragon, distinguished for the brilliancy of his talents and accomplishments — a skilful rider, dancer, fencer, musician, poet, — fearless, ambitious, and finished in the arts of dissimulation, — soon exercised unbounded influence over the pleasure-loving king. A miser, spendthrift, embezzler, epicure, Luna aggrandized himself and his kindred at the expense of the kingdom, affected royal magnificence in his expenditures and retinue, won the blind partiality of the king, and so disgusted the nobles by his haughtiness and intolerance that they soon organized confederacies to hurl him from his exalted station. Even Juan's own son Enrique took sides with the aristocracy against the favorite, and a prolonged period of anarchy and civil war set in. The commons began to lose all their hard-earned constitutional rights, and many iniquitous schemes of oppression, utterly repugnant to the acknowledged law of the land, were introduced and carried out by the favorite. The Cortes was reduced to deputations from seventeen or eighteen cities, while the non-represented cities transmitted their instructions through the deputies of the privileged ones, the interests of the whole country were no longer represented, and an insidious system, calculated to under-

mine the political system completely, threatened the absolute subversion of the ancient *fueros* of Castile.

Singularly enough, during this epoch literature thrived. Juan himself was an accomplished Latin scholar and poet. The marquis of Villena devoted his life to letters, translated Dante and the *Æneid*, and refined and civilized the tastes of his countrymen by numerous works on poetry, the gay science, and astronomy. The marquis of Santillana wrote moral poems and *redondillas* with grace. Juan de Mena, a genius of the highest order, composed his "Laberinto" after the model of the *Divina Commedia*, and combined in it a simplicity, vigor, beauty, and energy which frequently recall the great Italian. Alfonso de Baena, a converted Jew, wrote with elegance, and compiled an anthology, or *cancionero* of the fugitive pieces of many of the smaller luminaries. The very clash of arms proved propitious to literary development.

Meanwhile, on the death of Juan's first wife, Maria of Aragon, Alvaro de Luna, the all-powerful minister, opposing Juan's desire for a union with a daughter of the king of France, succeeded in bringing about a match with Isabella, granddaughter of João I. of Portugal; but his conduct becoming offensive to the queen, she succeeded in ruining him with the king; possession was obtained of his person by a violation of the royal safe-conduct; he was sentenced to death; and clad in sable, deserted by friends, and conducted ignominiously to the scaffold, he was miserably executed. The wretched king died, lamenting his misspent life, July 21, 1454, having reigned forty-eight years, and leaving three children, Enrique, who succeeded him, Alfonso,

and Isabella. The town of Cuellar, with its territories and a considerable sum of money were left to the Infanta Isabella.

Ferdinand the Catholic was the son of Juan II. of Aragon and the bold and versatile Juana, daughter of Don Federigo Henriquez, admiral of Castile. Ferdinand I. was elected to the vacant throne of Aragon in 1410, when it had become vacant by the demise of Martin. Alfonso V., the conqueror of Naples, succeeded his father Ferdinand, but resided so continually in that delightful and intellectual kingdom that Aragon was really ruled by his brother Juan, lieutenant-general of Aragon. This prince married twice; first Blanche, daughter of Charles III. of Navarre, and widow of Martin of Sicily, leaving three children, Carlos, prince of Viana, Blanche, repudiated wife of Enrique IV. of Castile, and Eleanor, wife of Gaston de Foix; afterwards (1447), Juana of Castile as before described. Carlos was heir of the kingdom of Navarre by right of inheritance through his mother, the elder Blanche, but perceiving probably that his father did not care to relinquish the title of king of Navarre, he permitted him to retain the title, provided he himself should be left the actual sovereignty. Juana, the new queen, attempted by her husband's authority to divide the administration of the government with Carlos, when civil war burst forth, revealing the wretched spectacle of father and son arrayed against each other. The party of Prince Carlos were entirely defeated in 1452.

## CHAPTER XII.

### REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

[CONTINUED.]

**T**HE birth of Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1452, was welcomed with a delight in strange contrast with the suspicion and dislike with which the king regarded the offspring of his former marriage.

The frank and affable Carlos retired to Naples, whose king, Alfonso, died in 1458, bequeathing his hereditary possessions, in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, to his brother Juan, while Naples fell to his illegitimate son Ferdinand. Carlos, after a reconciliation with his father in 1460, imagined that his title as heir-apparent to the crown of Aragon would be immediately acknowledged; but in this he was grossly deceived. His conduct was misconstrued; he was perfidiously arrested and imprisoned by his father; but such was the devotion of his Catalonian subjects to him that they broke out in open rebellion, and Juan was compelled to liberate his prisoner. But falling ill of a fever, Carlos expired September 23, 1461, having bequeathed Navarre to his sister Blanche and her descendants conformably to the marriage contract of his parents. Blanche, falling into the hands of her inhuman sister, Eleanor de Foix, died by poison. In 1461 Ferdinand was acknowledged by the Aragonese deputation heir-apparent of Aragon, but

Catalonia, passionately devoted to the memory of the lamented Carlos, refused allegiance, and offered its crown first to Don Pedro of Portugal, and then to René the Good of Aragon, famous from the fiction of Sir Walter Scott. The long and terrible civil war ended in 1472, after the surrender of Barcelona, when the Catalans returned to their allegiance and sturdily maintained that despite what they had done they should be proclaimed throughout the kingdom, good, faithful, and loyal subjects ; which, says the historian, was accordingly done.

The profligate brother of Isabella, Enrique IV. of Castile, though full of a certain sort of graciousness, condescension, and munificence, and at one time extremely popular for his chivalrous aspirations and his romantic expeditions against the Moors of Granada, gradually lost his popularity, fell into habits of debauchery, repudiated his wife, Blanche of Aragon, after a union of twelve years, and in 1455 completed his disgrace by espousing the sparkling and reckless Juana of Portugal, sister of the reigning sovereign Alfonso V. In this reign the clergy became scandalously unfaithful to their duties, the coin of the realm was shamelessly adulterated, the king abandoned himself to unworthy favorites : these favorites themselves, after being lifted to the skies, fell from their high estate, and organized a powerful confederation of the nobles to oppose the arbitrary doings of the king. Enrique was publicly deposed by this confederation at Avila, in 1465, and the young prince Alfonso was seated on the vacant throne ; but an accommodation ultimately took place

between the conflicting parties and tranquillity was for a short time restored.

The operations of the confederates against the authority of Enrique were totally disconcerted by the death of Alfonso, their young leader, in 1468. As there is little evidence to prove that Enrique's deposition was ever confirmed by act of cortes, Alfonso's so-called reign may be regarded as a usurpation and dismissed as such. The crown was now offered to Isabella, who had continued with Enrique's family during these disturbances; but she unhesitatingly refused it as long as her brother Enrique lived. A negotiation was then begun between the combatants, which resulted in a general amnesty and the recognition of Isabella as heiress of the crown of Castile and Leon. The princess immediately became the object of a brilliant matrimonial competition—a brother of Edward IV. of England; the duke of Guienne, brother of Louis XI. of France, and heir presumptive of the French monarchy; Alfonso, king of Portugal, and Ferdinand, of Aragon, were among the suitors for her hand. All others were rejected in favor of the lucky Ferdinand, to the great delight of Ferdinand's father, who was most keenly alive to the importance of consolidating the scattered monarchies of Spain under one head. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella had always been his darling scheme, and the marriage articles were signed and sworn to by Ferdinand at Cervera, January 7, 1469.

As these articles are important, it will be well to enumerate them in outline. Ferdinand promised faithfully to respect the laws and usages of Castile; to fix his residence in Castile and not quit it without Isa-

Isabella's consent ; to prefer no foreigners to municipal or military offices without her approbation ; to alienate none of the crown property ; to resign to her the exclusive right of nomination to ecclesiastical benefices ; to subscribe all ordinances of a public character jointly with her ; to prosecute the Moorish war, respect King Enrique, leave the nobles unmolested in the possession of their dignities and emoluments, and not demand restitution of the domains formerly owned by his father in Castile.

All the essential rights of sovereignty rested in Isabella's hands.

Owing to the difficulties and dangers of the times, the critical situation of Isabella, who was vigilantly watched by Villena and his spies, and even in peril of being seized by him with the intent of defeating the marriage, Ferdinand stole off in disguise, accompanied by half a dozen attendants, and managed, with great secrecy, expedition, and hardship, to reach Valladolid, where Isabella had now taken refuge. Their marriage was publicly celebrated October 19, 1469, in the palace of Juan de Vivero, the temporary residence of the princess, but subsequently appropriated to the chancery of Valladolid. The fair-complexioned, quick-eyed, cheerful, and chivalrous Ferdinand was celebrated for his horsemanship, his eloquence, his courteous and insinuating manners, and the temperance, activity, and simplicity of his habits ; and his presence made a sensible impression on the blue-eyed and chestnut-haired Isabella. Her beauty, intelligence, and sensibility, the grace of her manners, the symmetry and serenity of her features and temper, her fine intellectual and moral gifts, the elegance with

which she spoke the Castilian, her modesty and the simple beauty of her demeanor, charmed her contemporaries and have made them hand her down to us distinguished by every excellence that can adorn and beautify a beloved sovereign. Grace, benignity, serene magnanimity, devotion,—such were her characteristics; while with these were combined acute intellectual powers, great administrative abilities and homely household virtues but rarely found united in one and the same person.

On the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, a conspiracy of the nobles determined to oppose to Isabella's claims those of her niece Juana, then nine years old, and supposed to be the illegitimate daughter of the queen, second wife of Enrique. A faction, made formidable by the powerful names and interests of the Pachecos, Mendozas, Zuñigas, Velascos, and Punentels, who had so recently sworn adhesion to Isabella, now menaced her with destruction and plunged the realm into another of those "spells" of anarchy which periodically seized it. Savagery of every description, brigandage, feuds between the blood-thirsty nobles, maladministration in every shape and form, loathsome details of wretchedness, famine, devastation, lust, make a picture upon which the mind does not willingly dwell. It would be futile to pursue the threads of brutality, chicane, and insincerity pervading the involved negotiations, the furious discords, the pitiless wars going on both in Aragon and Castile, till the illness and death of Enrique, in 1474, extinguished the male line of the house of Trastamara and gave a short breathing space to the nation. Squandered revenues, worthless para-

sites, justice unredressed, treasury bankrupt, Castile dismembered, hypocrisy, audacity, and faithlessness in public and private engagements rampant ; such is the epitaph of Enrique IV. of Castile and Leon.

At Segovia, December 13, 1474, in the public square of the quaint old Castilian city, surrounded by gorgeously clad functionaries and invoking the benediction of heaven on her ensuing reign—a tableau heightened by the exquisite Spanish sunshine, the fantastic old colonnaded houses, the singularly beautiful situation of the city with its grouped and castellated hills, the lofty presence of the majestic and slender-columned cathedral, and the countless variegation of clanging bells, floating standards, *te Deums*, and brilliant costumery—Isabella was solemnly proclaimed queen. A herald cried with a loud voice : “ Castile, Castile, for the king Don Ferdinand and his consort Doña Isabel, queen proprietor of these kingdoms ! ”

The most popular and opulent cities of the realm followed the example of Segovia in acknowledging the accession of Isabella, and constitutional sanction to these proceedings was given by an assembly of the estates, in February. On Ferdinand's arrival from Aragon where he had been detained by the French war, a question arose as to whether the exclusion of females from the succession did not hold in Castile and Leon as in Aragon ; but the difficulty was removed and a settlement made on the basis of the original marriage contract. Isabella's great tact and good sense enabled her to reconcile the dissatisfied Ferdinand without compromising the prerogatives of her crown ; and though Alfonso V. of Portugal attempted to vindicate the title of his

niece Juana (whom he afterward married) to the throne of Castile, these difficulties — known as the War of the Succession — were terminated by the total rout of the Portuguese, at the battle of Toro, and the submission of the entire Christian kingdom to the victorious arms of Ferdinand and Isabella. Peace was concluded in 1478 between the plenipotentiaries of Castile and France, in which a principal article was that Louis XI., who had been supporting Portugal in the War of the Succession, should abandon this policy and give no further support to the pretensions of Juana. At length, a peace was brought about, in 1479, between the united monarchies and Portugal, through the instrumentality of Doña Beatrix of Portugal (sister-in-law of Alfonso and maternal aunt of Isabella) and Isabella herself.

Aragon, with all its dependencies, passed to Ferdinand on the death of his father in 1479, and by a fortunate conjuncture formed with the other principalities the foundation of that huge sovereignty, which stretched its wings from Indies to Indies and had Spain as its imperial centre.

A glance at the internal administration of Castile, after the consolidation of the monarchies, will probably make more intelligible to us the gradual development of our narrative. The thorough administration of justice, the codification of the laws, the undermining of the power of the nobles, the vindication of the ecclesiastical rights belonging to the crown from the usurpation of the see of Rome, the regulation of trade, and the thorough establishment of the royal authority, sum up the slow but sure achievements of this reign, and throw a luminous significance around the figures of Ferdinand and Isabella.

In 1476 Isabella, seeing no other way to check the license of the time, — the plundering, sanctuary-profaning, brigandage, and personal violation, — effected, with the aid of cortes and the *junta* of deputies from the various cities of the kingdom, a reorganization of the ancient institution of the Hermandad, though on an essentially different basis. The new code was administered with unsparing vigor; was to be universal in its effort to maintain public order; was to have cognizance of, and summary penalties for, highway robbery, house-breaking, rape, and resistance to justice; was to exact eighteen thousand maravedis annually from every hundred households in order to equip and subsist a mounted policeman whose duty it was to arrest and punish offenders; was to cause tocsins to be sounded for the apprehension of escaped criminals; and was to establish a court of two alcaldes in every town of thirty families for the trial of crimes within the jurisdiction of the Hermandad. Affairs were regulated by an annually convened general *junta*. The penalties for theft were written in ink of blood; criminals when punished capitally were shot to death by arrows; and though the restive aristocracy made determined resistance to being drawn within its jurisdiction, their resistance was ineffectual, and the whole kingdom soon acknowledged the supremacy of the Santa Hermandad. The country thus swarmed with an invaluable police which, though far from possessing the discipline, co-ordination and thoroughness of modern organizations, speedily rid it of its dens of robbers and assassins. Isabella was famed for the rectitude and impartiality with which she administered justice; wherever she went the Cas-

tilian chivalry flocked about her, gave her splendid receptions, tournaments, and tilts of reeds, and were eager to confess their admiration of her course for ridding the country of malefactors, by their loyal and sumptuous welcomes. The higher tribunals were also reformed and reorganized; the encroachments of the Privy Council on the superior courts of law carefully limited and checked; the chancery, or supreme court of appeal in civil causes, entirely remodelled; the interference of the crown with its jurisdiction stopped, and magistrates of wisdom, learning and integrity placed upon its benches for the lucid and faithful interpretation of the law.

The ancient and obsolete practice of the sovereign's personally presiding in the tribunals was revived, so that the age was enthusiastically called the golden age of justice, when the sovereign was seen every Friday in the Alcázar of Madrid dispensing justice to all such, great and small, as came to seek it. Order was thus re-established, judiciary reform initiated, the excesses of banditti lessened, and strongholds of violence and intimidation thrown down.

The system of jurisprudence, made up fundamentally of the ancient Visigothic code, the *fueros* or charters of the Castilian princes as far back as the eleventh century, and the famous "Siete Partidas" or Seven Parts of Alfonso X, (principally a digest of the maxims of the civil law), was simplified and freed from the contradictory and embarrassing discrepancies, uncertainties, and complexities arising from this amalgamation of codes. Dr. Diaz de Montalvo was in 1480 charged with the revision of the Castilian code and the compil-

ation of a code universally applicable to the subjects of the dominion. The "Ordenanças Reales," the result of his labors, for four years, were printed in 1485. This code continued valid to Philip II.'s time, and is regarded as forming the foundation of the comprehensive work "La Nueva Recopilacion," which is at the basis of modern Spanish continental and colonial jurisprudence.

Measures to repress the intolerant spirit of the nobles were the revival of the Hermandad, the preference of personal merit over rank in official preferment, and a revocation of the royal grants, which unconstitutionally alienated the public money to such an extent that, in the reign of Enrique IV., the clear annual revenue of the kingdom amounted to only thirty thousand ducats, so that he was contemptuously called "king of the highways" only. Pensions without corresponding services were forfeited; purchased annuities were returned for due reimbursement, and the remaining creditors were permitted to retain such a proportion of their pensions as were deemed commensurate with their services to the state. Thirty millions of maravedis were thus annually saved to the crown: literary and charitable establishments were permitted to enjoy their incomes. In the end, we are told, by these sagacious economic reforms the revenues of the realm were augmented nearly twelve-fold. Hitherto the nobility had monopolized nearly all the remunerative posts, obtained possession of the greater part of the crown estates, coined money in their own mints like sovereign princes, filled the country with fortified castles, and desolated the land with their interminable *vendetta*. Now they

were forbidden to erect new fortresses, restrained from duels under penalty of treason, and prohibited from being attended by a mace-bearer, from quartering the royal arms on their escutcheons, and imitating the style of address used by the sovereign in his correspondence.

The popular branch of the cortes was treated with great deference and it was through its coöperation principally that the jealous and refractory nobles were brought to terms.

The grand-masterships of the great military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara, were annexed to the crown, and the orders themselves reformed. Founded originally, it is supposed, in imitation of the monastic orders of the Holy Land, the Spanish orders rose to great power and splendor, and figure largely in the chronicles and legendary lore of the realm. The order of Santiago, named after St. James, the patron saint of Spain, was founded in the twelfth century (1175), and distinguished by a sword-shaped, blood-red cross embroidered on a snowy mantle; obedience, community of property, and conjugal chastity were their governing rules; and perpetual warfare against the infidel, defence of travellers, and relief to the poor, were likewise characteristic points, characteristically enforced by the fervor of the age. The order of Calatrava (1164) romantically originated from a confederation of knights and ecclesiastics, formed to hold the town of Calatrava, on the frontier of Andalusia, against the Moors. The Templars being unable to hold this town, Sancho the Beloved offered it to whatever good knights would undertake its defence. Perpetual celibacy, — which, however, was “perpetuated” only to the sixteenth cen-

tury, — plain diet, silence at meals, continual readiness day and night for action : such were their rules. The order of Alcántara (1177) was held in nominal subordination to the knights of Calatrava, but was relieved by Julius II., and rose to independent importance.

The wealth of these orders was immeasurable ; they had unlimited rights over their conquests ; they could bring into the field hundreds of belted knights and thousands of lances ; their towns, castles, and convents covered the country ; the grand-masterships became posts of vast influence ; and soon so much intrigue, danger, and bad blood developed when a vacancy occurred that, in 1476, the queen succeeded in securing the administration of one of the grand-masterships (that of Santiago) for Ferdinand ; that of Calatrava followed in 1487, and of Alcántara in 1494. In the reign of Charles V., his old teacher, Adrian VI., granted a bull annexing the orders in perpetuity to the Castilian crown ; so that soon these famous relics of religious chivalry lapsed into insignificance, more particularly as their great life-work, the subjugation of the Moors, had been accomplished.

The encroachments of the ecclesiastical on the lay tribunals — especially after the permanent establishment of the canon law, due to the promulgation of the “*Siete Partidas*” in the thirteenth century — were resisted. Here, as elsewhere in its institutions, mediæval Spain was singularly independent. It is said that even the Romish ritual was not admitted into its churches till long after it had been adapted in the rest of Europe. Ferdinand and Isabella even proclaimed their intention of inviting the princes of Christendom to unite with

them in convoking an œcumenical council for the reformation of the abuses of the church. Sixtus IV. reluctantly yielded to Isabella's demand that the higher Spanish benefices should be filled with native Castilians; and thus the queen proceeded, as occasion permitted, to place persons eminent for virtue, piety, and learning, in the conspicuous strongholds of Catholicism.

Famines, pestilences, languishing agriculture, ruined commercial and financial credit, debasement of the coin, were a few of the memories and legacies bequeathed the Catholic kings by their immediate predecessors; a state of things bettered, as far as might be, on the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella. Salutary changes of every description were introduced; internal communications facilitated; foreign trade protected; the public credit re-established by the punctuality with which the government met its engagements; arbitrary imposts were repealed; different denominations of coin had a legal standard value affixed; and royal mints were established to infuse life and vigor into the currency. In five years the revenues increased five-fold; agriculture and architecture began to flourish again, and capital to flow into the country; "what many men," says old Pulgar, "and grand lords were unable to do in many years, a solitary woman, with her own toil and talents, did in a little while."

The sober wisdom, noble demeanor, liberality, and affectionate solicitude of the queen; the resolution, self-restraint, and scrupulous economy of the king; and the harmonious and elevated character of the relations existing between these eminent sovereigns, tended to establish the royal authority on a rock impregnable,

and make it undisputed alike at court and throughout the provinces.

The permanent establishment of the Spanish Inquisition took place in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella ; and the conquest of Granada (1481-92), with all its romantic and pathetic associations, filled more than ten years of its middle period. Beginning in 1481, and carried on with an infinity of surprises, expeditions, storming-parties, sieges, capitulations, and evolutions, conducted under great difficulties, from lack of funds on the part of the Spaniards, and with courage and obstinacy on the part of the Moors, this war lasted till January, 1492, involved much slaughter on both sides, and was finally brought to a triumphant conclusion after incessant hostilities.

A special chapter has been reserved for the achievements of the Spanish navigators who so gloriously illustrated this memorable reign, and carried the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Spain, and of the Catholic religion, across the dim and undiscovered seas.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### SUBJUGATION OF THE MOORS.—CONQUEST OF GRANADA.

THE time had now come when two independent nationalities—the Spanish and the Moorish—could no longer exist side by side in the peninsula. For eight centuries Spain had been the battle-ground of alien races. After its almost total subjugation by Târic the One-eyed and Mousâ, the Christians had gradually, one by one, century by century, reconquered and recovered the lost territories. The west, the east, and the north again owned the sovereignty of Catholic kings. But the south, more beautiful and fertile than any part of Spain, was filled with Moslem cities, Moslem civilization, the grace and elegance of Moslem art and architecture, the renown of Moslem scholars, the beauty and chivalry of Moslem knighthood. Worse than all, the Crescent blazed triumphantly over against the Crucifix, and hatreds engendered by irreconcilable creeds were rife, to stimulate men to chivalrous encounter, and make them vanquish or die in the glorious conflict of Infidel and Believer. A momentous struggle—long foreseen, long inevitable—now broke out, involving many-sided interests—ambition, religion, desire for

ascendancy, personal revenge, avarice, envy, new fields for the Inquisition, new opportunities for glory and self-aggrandizement. A struggle so important in its influence on Spanish development, and so passionate and long-continued in the obstinacy with which it was fought out, demands more than a cursory consideration, even apart from the fact that it is the most gorgeous and dramatic episode of Spanish history. With a preliminary glance at the theatre of these wonderful scenes, the description of the ten years' war may be resumed.

Andalusia, the *tierra de Maria Santisima*, as it is poetically called, — the land specially favored by the Most Holy Virgin, — is the most delectable of all the Spanish provinces. In the time of the Moors it corresponded to the four kingdoms of Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and Granada, now however (1881), eight in number, known as the provinces of Seville, Huelva, Cadiz, Jaen, Cordova, Granada, Almeria, and Malaga. The etymology of the word — according to Dozy a corruption of *Vandalusia*, from the Vandals, who overran the south of Spain after the disintegration of the Roman empire; according to others from the Moorish term *Andalosh*, Land of the West — need not detain us long. The singular geographical features of its thirty-three thousand square miles give the clue to the rugged and stubborn resistance of the Moors of the fifteenth century to the arms of the most Catholic Ferdinand and Isabella.

In the loveliest atmosphere in the world rise vast ranges of serrated, ruddy-peaked mountains, within which are interleaved delicious valleys, sometimes opening on an azure estuary of the purple-watered Mediterranean, sometimes locked in by inaccessible

precipices. Gigantic mountain domes loom up to the height of nearly twelve thousand feet and pierce the air with a penetrating and perennial coolness. The mountains of the Sun and Air, the Sierra of Snow, of Vermilion, of Gador, of Arsohe, of Morena, of Susana, break and intersect the face of the country into a thousand slopes, glens, dales, eagles' eyries, and undulating plains. Eight or ten rivers with their affluents send sluggish or silvery torrents, according to the season, through the country, which now expands into picturesque *vegas* overflowing with the wild olive, the citron, the caper-bush, the aloe, the cactus, the palm, lemon, and orange, the evergreen oak, the silk-festooned mulberry, the snowy cotton and bending cane, now shoots up into cliffs of dazzling height surmounted by dragon-like castles. These mountains are richly variegated with threads of silver, gold, lead, copper, iron, coal, and precious marbles; the land is golden with autumnal wheat; the landscape is populous with cities of great interest to artist, antiquary, and ecclesiologist; the plantations are famous for their bulls, horses, sheep, and swine; and the ready wit, versatility, genius, and good humor of the inhabitants have passed into a proverb. The sparkling beauty of the Andalusian women, with their dark complexions, small figures, and pleasant Castilian dialect; the handsome, lazy, boastful men; the ever-sounding song, the ever-living dance; the superstition and sensuality of all classes; the illiteracy, munificence, and carelessness so characteristic of the Andalusians; all these details and dispositions were favored and developed by a voluptuous climate and

are still, to-day, equally with five centuries ago, peculiar to the population.

In this paradise of the south of Spain broke out one of the most sanguinary conflicts known to history. From the nature of the country as well as from the character of the combatants, the contest was bound to be protracted. In its length, picturesqueness, and episodic character it has frequently been compared to the Trojan war ; and it is even more than singular that this swan-song of the crusades did not breathe itself eloquently forth in the melting verse of some Spanish Tasso. As it is, it is even richer in poetry and romance



FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

than the wars of the Holy Land and though commemorated in no grand epical "Lay of the Saracens," is embalmed in innumerable ballads fraught with the tenderest pathos and music.

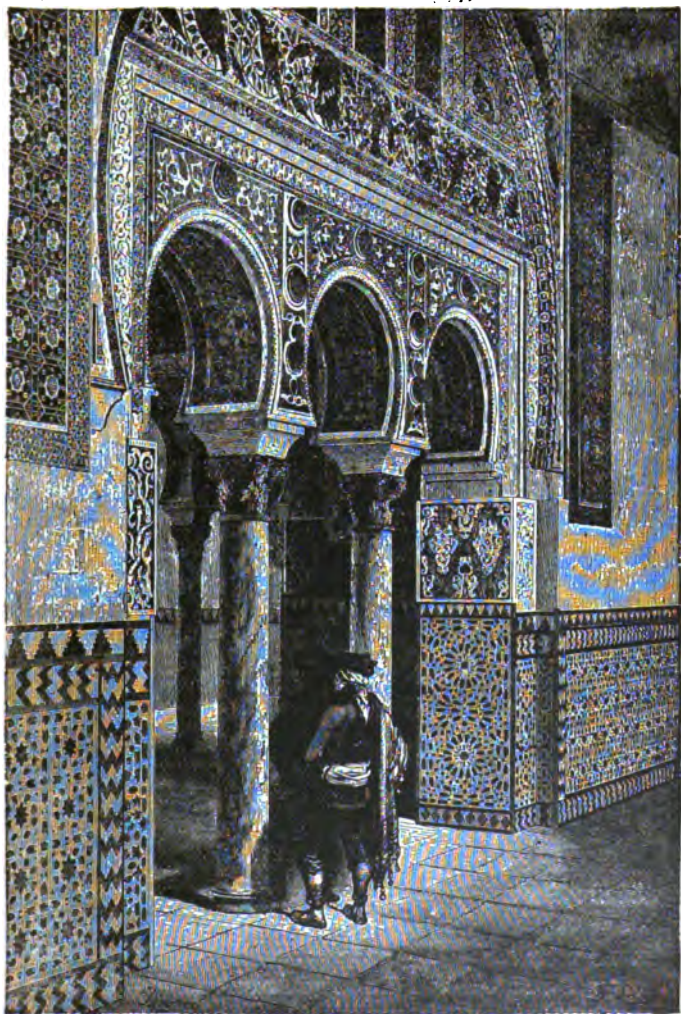
As early as 1466, Muley Abul Hacen, son of the

Aben Ismail who ruled in Granada in the reign of Juan II. and Enrique IV., had succeeded his father and was prompted by an impetuous disposition to violate the truce which his father had established between the Moors and the Spaniards. On Ferdinand's demanding, in 1476, payment of the annual tribute levied by his predecessors, Abul Hacen insolently retorted that "the mints of Granada coined no longer gold, but steel." Crouching like a lion in his noble city of Granada—the city of seventy thousand houses, of walls three leagues in circuit, furnished with twelve gates and 1030 towers, of the commanding palace of the Alhambra, capable of containing a garrison of forty thousand men, of the incomparable Vega thirty-seven leagues in circumference, of orchards and gardens, and silver windings of the Xenil infinite—Abul Hacen might well think himself invincible. Few cities, indeed, if we may put faith in the eulogies of Spanish and Arabian writers, ever surpassed Granada in luxury, refinement, and prodigality. We read of girdles and bracelets and anklets of gold and silver for the women, wrought with exquisite art and delicacy, studded with jacinths, emeralds, and chrysolites; of braided and beautifully decorated hair confined in links of sparkling jewels; of garments of wool, silk or cotton of the finest texture for the men, beautifully variegated. Linen of spotless whiteness for the summer, armor chased and inlaid with gold, enamelled scimitars, blades, and daggers of Damascus and Fez, decorated with Koranic texts, sumptuously caparisoned horses, lances of matchless temper, legions of Andalusian barbs, are said to have been the commonplaces of these most serene principalities. A

brilliant chivalry filled the city; the most generous rivalry existed between the Moslem and Christian cavaliers. Owing to the singular reservations of the truce made between the rival races, hostilities had been but partially suspended. The Moorish frontier towards Jaen was not included in it, and was left open as the play-ground of the contending bands. Provision was even found in the truce for sudden forays, unexpected attacks on castles and towns undertaken without trumpet or banner, or investments of towns within a period of three days. The truce required twelve thousand doblas of gold to be annually paid the Christians, or in default thereof the liberation of six hundred Christian captives. If captives were not to be got, the same number of Moors were to be delivered up at the city of Cordova.

When Don Juan de Vera was sent in 1476 to demand the payment of arrearages and the fulfilment of the treaty stipulations, the haughty answer already cited was returned. A report was made to the Castilian sovereigns of the condition of things in Granada, and it was found that Abul Hacen's kingdom now contained fourteen cities, ninety-seven fortified places; and many formidable castles. Deferring hostilities for the present, Ferdinand with characteristic caution determined to reduce the kingdom by inches, plucking out hair by hair, subjugating fortress by fortress, garnering grain by grain into his granary, until, as an historian reports, "he had picked out the seeds of this pomegranate one by one."

Fortunately for the Christians their cause was aided by the implacable rivalries existing among the Moors themselves, and rending their ranks into those who fa-



**MOORISH ARCHES OF THE ALCAZAR, SEVILLE.**

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vored the cause of the Sultana Ayxa the Chaste — the first wife of Abul Hacen, daughter of Mohammed VII. (surnamed the Left-handed), mother of Boabdil — and those who favored the cause of Zoraya, Maid of the Morning Star, originally a Christian slave, but delicately nurtured and brought up in the Mahometan faith, the favorite sultana of Abul Hacen. The presence of these women throws a strange and romantic glamour over this memorable war and lightens its ferocity with many a detail of graceful and tender pathos. Ambitious, beautiful, passionate, intriguing, Zoraya swayed the amorous Abul Hacen despotically, and was anxious that one or the other of her two sons should eventually reign over the kingdom. Surrounded by an influential faction headed by the vizier Abul Cacam Vanegas, Zoraya had good hope that her expectations should be gratified. Ayxa, on the contrary, was upheld by the powerful family of the Abencerrages and by Aben Comixer, Alcayde of the Alhambra. The beauteous palace resounded with their controversies and recriminations, and the noise of the scandal was spread abroad through the kingdom, constituting a source of fruitful apprehension to the graver and more reflecting Moslems.

Close upon the heels of these dissensions followed the capture of Zahara in 1481, a Christian fortress which proved an irresistible lure to the enterprising mind of Abul Hacen, and led the way to all the subsequent disasters of the Moors. The garrison was put to the sword and Hacen returned in triumph to Granada where, instead of being received with acclaim for his valiant deed, he was welcomed by lamentations, dismal

prophecies, and the outcries of a religious enthusiast, who predicted the speedy downfall of Granada for this unprovoked massacre.

The capture of Zahara roused infinite indignation among the Christian cavaliers, already renowned for the irascibility of their tempers, the boundless zeal with which they fought for the faith, and the turbulence and independence of their spirit. Preparations were therefore at once made to carry the war with fire and sword into the heart of the territories of the Moors. The estates of the marquis of Cadiz lay adjacent to these territories — a fact which was speedily signalized by a brilliant achievement, serving as a prologue to the war. Illustrious in lineage, distinguished as a champion of the faith, well known for vigor, valor, munificence to friend, magnanimity to foe, — a slight, ruddy-faced, blonde-haired, intrepid figure, — Roderigo Ponce de Leon, marquis of Cadiz, became the cynosure of all eyes in this war and did deeds and achieved glory comparable to the knightly and half-mythical actions of the Tancreds, the Baldwins, Bernardo del Carpio, and the Cid. Learning that Alhama, a wealthy and populous place a few leagues from Granada, was but slightly garrisoned, he determined to surprise it one moonless night, and make its capture counterbalance the capture of Zahara. Setting out noiselessly to the number of four thousand foot and three thousand cavalry, and winding as stealthily as tigers over the rugged and dangerous mountain-roads, the marquis and his men succeeded in surprising Alhama two hours before daybreak.

Boundless was the satisfaction of the Spaniards when they heard of this victory, and boundless the grief and

anger of the people of Granada. The agitation caused by this memorable event has been mirrored for us in a plaintive Spanish romance delicately rendered by Lord Byron, who in his translation has combined two ballads, one with the refrain, "Ay de mi, Alhama!"

The Moorish King rides up and down  
Through Granada's royal town;  
From Elvira's gates to those  
Of Bivarambla on he goes.

Woe is me, Alhama!

Letters to the monarch tell  
How Alhama's city fell:  
In the fire the scroll he threw,  
And the messenger he slew.

Woe is me, Alhama!

He quits his mule and mounts his horse,  
And through the street directs his course:  
Through the street of Zacatin,  
To the Alhambra spurring in.

Woe is me, Alhama!

When the Alhambra walls he gained,  
On the moment he ordained  
That the trumpet straight should sound  
With the silver clarion round.

Woe is me, Alhama!

And when the hollow drums of war  
Beat the loud alarm afar,  
That the Moors of town and plain  
Might answer to the martial strain.

Woe is me, Alhama!

Then the Moors by this aware,  
That bloody Mars recalled them there  
One by one, and two by two,  
To a mighty squadron grew.

Woe is me, Alhama!

Out then spake an aged Moor  
 In these words the king before :  
 " Wherefore call on us, O King ?  
 What may mean this gathering ?"  
 Woe is me, Alhama !

" Friends, ye have alas to know  
 Of a most disastrous blow ;  
 That the Christians, stern and bold,  
 Have obtained Alhama's hold."  
 Woe is me, Alhama !

And from the windows o'er the walls  
 The sable web of mourning falls ;  
 The king weeps as a woman o'er  
 His loss, for it is much and sore.  
 Woe is me, Alhama !

It is said that many of the people of Granada made their way to the Alhambra weeping, and "Accursed," cried they to Abul Hacen, "be the day that thou hast lit the flame of war in our land. May the holy prophet bear witness before Allah that we and our children are innocent of this act ! Upon thy head, and upon the heads of thy posterity, until the end of the world, rest the sin of the desolation of Zahara !"

Abul Hacen, however, was no sentimentalist. With astonishing speed he gathered together an army of three thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, and swept forth from the gates of Granada to exterminate the handful of Christians at Alhama. Don Alonzo de Aguilar, elder brother of the famous Gonsalvo de Cordova, made vain efforts to succor his besieged countrymen. He was compelled to withdraw and retire into the mountains. The Moslems, when they came in sight of the mangled bodies of their kinsmen strewn broadcast over

the earth, or the revolting repast of troops of hunger-pinched dogs, were lashed into fury. They sprang like ravenous animals on the walls, scaled the battlements, and were dashed headlong down the precipices by the intrepid defenders. The lack of artillery to batter down the fortifications proved death to the Moslems and salvation to the Christians. Like myriads of wolves, the Infidels howled tempestuously round the ramparts, glared with bloodshot eyes at the impregnable defences which they themselves had reared, made despairing onslaughts in the face of blinding fire from the besiegers, and, foiled, incensed, breathless, battle-scarred, Hacen and his army lay writhing among the hills below in futile anguish and disappointment.

Ill, however, might it have fared with the Christians, had not speedy succor come from an unexpected quarter. Alhama was destitute of cisterns and fountains so that the Christians had to descend for water to the river below under the withering fire of the Moors. The river was diverted by the almost superhuman efforts of the Moorish engineers, and the garrison, the inhabitants, and the wounded soon suffered extremities of thirst. Many, it is said, died raving mad, fancying themselves swimming in boundless seas, yet unable to assuage their thirst.

In the midst of this perilous condition of things, the duke of Medina-Sidonia, formerly an implacable foe of the marquis of Cadiz, but now softened by the sufferings of his gallant enemy and by the entreaties of the marchioness of Cadiz, arrived with five thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, accompanied by a splendid retinue of Andalusian chivalry. Though King Ferdi-

nand, hearing of the alarming necessity of Alhama, was himself hurrying to the scene of conflict, the duke of Medina-Sidonia forestalled him and had the glorious privilege of saving his hereditary foe. One powerful effort more was made by Abul Hacen, which was foiled, and the sovereign of Granada, fearing to be hemmed in between two armies, retired to Granada, tearing his beard with humiliation.

Few scenes recorded by the historian are more exquisite than the scene which ensued upon the arrival of the succoring army. Hostility, vengeance, hereditary feud, were forgotten in the delicate and princely magnanimity of the duke of Medina-Sidonia. The chiefs and their rival armies threw down their weapons and rushed with gratitude and tears into one another's arms; eternal friendship was sworn by the recent enemies; the marquis and the duke marched off together like brothers and were sumptuously entertained in Marchena by the marquis of Cadiz; and ceasing from this time, the ancient hostility was obliterated, and a new and sacred friendship sprang up, sealed and cemented by the baptism of blood and tears.

Such is a typical episode of this romantic war. Siege succeeded siege, foray followed on foray, army annihilated army, camp vanished before camp with swift and dizzying multiplicity. The historian is caught up as in a hurrying whirlwind, and borne on from battle to battle and sierra to sierra. It was a holy war, a crusade, a passionate clash between Cross and Korán, a grand spectacular display of tilting knights and tourneying infidels. It would, therefore, be useless to pursue a microscopic chronicle of its ever-shifting vicissi-

tudes. Let us chisel the potent outlines of the subjugation of the Moors and the conquest of Granada on our memories, and leave the myriad details to works of greater compass and richer elaboration.

Civil war had meanwhile been raging in Granada. With a population of unprecedented instability, Granada beheld during this war a series of revolutions and counter-revolutions, plots and counterplots unparalleled in her history. Boabdil, threatened by his father Abul Hacen, had fled to Guadix, not far from the capital city, where a host of adherents gathered around him. Abul Hacen, received with groans and execrations by his people after his return from the campaign of Alhama, had retired for a day to a delicious country-seat, situated on the mountain of the Sun near Granada, where, wrapped in luxury and lulled by the blandishments of Zoraya and her women, he was endeavoring to drown the remembrance of his defeat in Oriental reveries. Suddenly, in the midst of this unwarlike dalliance, news was brought him that Granada was in arms, that Boabdil had broken into the city, and that a tempest of revolution had swooped upon the town. Flying thither, Abel Hacen resisted Boabdil, but was defeated and driven out of the Alhambra, and Boabdil, "*El Rey Chiquito*," the Little King as he was called by the Spaniards, reigned over the city, — the Paris of the Spanish Middle ages ; paradise one moment, pandemonium the next. One week the Vermilion Towers of the Alhambra rose enveloped in light, in perfume, in aromatic gardens, in fountained and filagreed courts, in sparkling arabesques, in precious tranquillity, wherein the golden voice of Arabian verse breathed forth its plaintive and mock-

ing whispers, the next, blood-red illumination burned over its ensanguined turrets, and the din of arms, the clangor of sackbuts and cymbals, the flash of furious scimitars, and the blaze of the assassin and incendiary, sparkled and resounded through its tempest-tossed spaces.

Swift upon the capture and defence of Alhama followed the disaster of Loxa to the Christians, a town in the possession of the Moors not far from Alhama, considered all-important to its security.

Abul Hacen, exasperated at the ravaging of the vega of Granada, resolved to retaliate, and sallied forth from Malaga with horse and foot to scour and devastate the dominions of the duke of Medina-Sidonia. His foray was brought to a successful close, though the Christians, under the valiant Pedro de Vargas, hung on his rear and did good service. A curious trait illustrative of the mode in which these wars were carried on may be quoted here, though perhaps one should not credit too absolutely the accuracy of the account. Two Christian captives, it is said, were summoned by Abul Hacen, and were asked what were the revenues of Pedro de Vargas, alcaide of Gibraltar. They said that he was entitled to one out of every drove of cattle that passed his boundaries. "Allah forbid that so brave a cavalier should be defrauded of his dues," cried the warrior. Selecting twelve of the finest cattle he sent them to Pedro de Vargas, asking pardon for not having sent them sooner. De Vargas, in return, is said to have sent a scarlet mantle and a costly silken vest, apologizing at the same time for not having been able to give his Moorish majesty a warmer reception.

A foray of the Spanish cavaliers into the mountains

of Malaga about the same time ended in slaughter and defeat. Lost in the mountains, through the ignorance of their guides, wandering helplessly among the gorges and precipices of the sierras, at first imagining themselves perfectly safe and their expedition a profound secret, they suddenly awoke to find every crag alive with the signal fires of the Moors, every cliff bristling with casque and lance, every declivity a rampart down which gigantic rocks were rolled on their devoted heads, and the mountains themselves tumbling about them. The defeat is still recorded in the Spanish calendars as the Defeat of the mountains of Malaga, and the spot is commemorated as the Hill of Massacre,—in after years a museum of whitening skeletons, weapons, and armor cast away in the fight. Prisoners long continued to be brought in from the pathless mountains, and so great was the loss that “all Andalusia,” says a writer of the period, “was overwhelmed by a great affliction ; there was no drying of the eyes which wept in her.”

The consternation of the Christians formed a vivid contrast with the exultation of the Moors. The former attributed the rout to vain-glory and supercilious confidence, making it a source of edifying homilies and pious self-denunciation, while the latter saw in it the direct interposition of Allah and a pleasant augury of future conquest and success.

No sooner, however, had the skies ceased ringing with the shouts of the Moor than, by one of those compensations continually apparent in this war, their triumph was turned into mourning.

Boabdil el Chiquito made an incursion over the border, and, with the help of Ali Atar, determined to elude

observation and come by surprise upon the city of Lucena. Mounted, like a veritable king of romance, upon a black and white horse superbly caparisoned, with richly ornamented corslet of steel, lined with gaudy velvet, and pranked with golden nails, with head surmounted by an exquisitely chiselled and embossed casque, Damascus scimitar and dagger hung to belt and saddle-bow, and a mighty lance in hand, the Moorish king pranced forth beneath the gate of Elvira; but in doing so, tradition says, he broke his lance-head against the arch—an omen of disastrous import. While a bow-shot from the city, a fox ran through the whole army, and though pursued by a thousand missiles, escaped unharmed; another portent to the Moorish imagination. While Boabdil was leisurely scathing the country around Lucena, and destroying all he could, the count de Cabra, in the castle of Vaena, several leagues from Lucena, perceiving the approach of the king, managed to gather in all haste a small force of knights and gentlemen, and descending upon the five battalions of Moorish cavalry with impetuosity put the plunder-laden host to utter rout, drove Boabdil himself into the willows and tamarisks of the Mingozales river, and succeeded in capturing him, though he gave himself out as the son of Aben Alnayer, a cavalier of the royal household. His rank remained undiscovered till three days after the battle, when some prisoners from Granada happening to be brought into the citadel of Lucena where Boabdil was confined, and beholding the wretched monarch stripped of his kingly robes, prostrated themselves before him with loud lamentations, and thus revealed his piteous secret.

Pathetic indeed were the tears of the Moors over their lost king and their slain general. "Beautiful Granada!" exclaimed the minstrels of the palace, according to a chronicler, "how is thy glory faded. The flower of thy chivalry lies low in the land of the stranger; no longer does the Vivarrambla echo to the tramp of steed and sound of trumpet; no longer is it crowded with thy youthful nobles gloriously arrayed for the tilt and tourney. Beautiful Granada! the soft note of the lute no longer floats through thy moonlit streets; the serenade is no more heard beneath thy balconies; the lively castanet is silent upon thy hills; the graceful dance of the Zambra is no more seen beneath thy bowers! Beautiful Granada! Why is the Alhambra so lorn and desolate? The orange and myrtle still breathe their perfumes into its silken chambers; the nightingale still sings within its groves, its marble halls are still refreshed with the plash of fountains and the gush of limpid rills. Alas, alas, the countenance of the king no longer shines within those walls. The light of the Alhambra is set forever."

Abul Hacen now returned to Granada and was welcomed with acclaim by its fickle population. By a subtle show of sympathy and magnanimity the Catholic sovereigns contrived to win over Boabdil completely to their interests. Various overtures from the rival factions in the Moorish metropolis concerning him were made and rejected, and Boabdil continued to remain a prisoner in the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella. These "puissant and ostentatious" sovereigns were warmly entreated by the marquis of Cadiz to release Boabdil unconditionally; others counselled captivity.

The opinion of the noble-minded Isabella at length prevailed. Boabdil was to be released on condition that he should remain like his forefathers a vassal of the Castilian crown ; military tribute must be exacted, military service performed, and safe-conducts and maintenance guaranteed for the Christian troops that should pass through the places adhering to Boabdil.

Boabdil, after his romantic captivity at Cordova, entered Granada by stealth, hoping to rouse the people and drive his father from the Alhambra. His noble-hearted mother Ayxa did all she could to strengthen his cause, telling him that it was no time for tears or sentimentality, that he had done well to throw himself resolutely into Granada, "but it must depend upon thyself whether thou remain here a king or a captive."

But Boabdil, too weak to maintain himself against his lion-hearted father, and too vacillating to rouse personal enthusiasm in his followers, retired in shame to Almeria, followed by the scorn of his mother who disdainfully remarked that he was not worthy of being called a king who was not master of his capital.

A singular incident characteristic of the quaint spirit of the time accompanied the processions, illuminations, and festivities with which the victory of Lopera, gained by the Christians in 1483, was commemorated. It is said that Ferdinand sent the successful general, the marquis of Cadiz, the royal raiment he had worn on that day, together with the privilege for himself and his posterity of wearing royal robes ever afterward on Our Lady's day, in remembrance of his part in the enterprise. Queen Isabella, not to be outdone by her lord, sent her brocade and vestments worn the same day, to the wife of the

other commander, Don Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero, to be worn by her during life on the anniversary of this battle.

The count de Cabra, who had captured Boabdil in the battle of Lucena, was permitted to have as armorial bearings a Moor's head crowned, with a chain of gold round the neck in a sanguine field, and twenty-two banners—the number captured in the fight—round the margin of the escutcheon. Their descendants are said to wear these arms to this day.

Meanwhile the count of Tendilla kept watch in the castle of Alhama, which commanded the high-road to Malaga and a view over the vega. So vigilant was his watch that the historian says a beetle could not crawl across the vega without being seen by him. Finding his people growing mutinous, however, because they had long been unpaid, he resorted to the ingenious expedient of inscribing sums of money on bits of paper, and then compelled the people of Alhama to take them at their full value. The historian adds that this subtle alchemy of the transmutation of worthless paper into precious gold and silver was afterwards justified by the redemption of the paper in real metal.

In some of the border skirmishes of this period Ferdinand was so struck by the effect of his rude artillery in battering down castles that he immediately multiplied the number of the lombards in his possession, and henceforth dealt on terms of easy superiority with his foes.

Coin and Cartama soon fell into the hands of Ferdinand, and the monarch then captured Ronda, an almost impregnable stronghold cresting a towering rock

bathed beneath by the crystal waters of the Rio Verde, so exquisitely commemorated by the bishop of Dromore in his translation from the Spanish.

Rio Verde, Rio Verde,  
Many a corpse is bathed in thee  
Both of Moors and else of Christians,  
Slain with swords most cruelly.  
And thy pure and crystals waters  
Dappled are with crimson gore;  
For between the Moors and Christians  
Long has been the fight and sore.  
Dukes and counts fell bleeding near thee,  
Lords of high renown were slain,  
Perished many a brave hidalgo  
Of the noblemen of Spain.

Seventy-two places fell into the hands of the Christians during this expedition, showing both the enormous populousness of the neighborhood and the energy of the king. Innumerable encounters, exasperated by difficulty of situation, religious intolerance, bitter recollections and boundless aspirations, ensanguined the sierras and kept both sides in continual wakefulness. El Zagal, Boabdil's uncle, invited to take command in Granada, proved a powerful and vindictive opponent.

The history of the war now becomes an infinite flicker of light and shade, success and humiliation, anarchy and organization. The ebbing tide is on the side of the Moors, while Ferdinand with stealthy but indomitable persistence gradually gathers in town after town. Among his many failures there were many victories, and though often discouraged, he pushed forward with a serene self-possession and hope that inspired all and accomplished all.

Just after the conquest of Zalea by the knights of Calatrava, in 1485, the queen gave birth to Catharine of Aragon (Dec. 16, 1485), afterward wife of Henry VIII. of England.

The death of old Abul Hacen about this time, resulted in a partial restoration of Boabdil to shadowy power in Murcia. A splendid army assembled at Cordova in 1486 for the further prosecution of the war, and eloquent are the descriptions of the vari-colored pavilions, the silken hangings, the gold and silver services, the sumpter mules and Andalusian jennets with silken halters and embroidered housings, the feasts and revels and midnight cavalcades, the plumed helmets, the polished armor blazing by torchlight, the pomp and pageantry of pages and lackeys, accompanying the assembly. Twelve thousand cavalry, forty thousand foot, and six thousand pioneers sallied forth against Loxa, with the king at their head. The historian here indulges in an imaginative outburst, and we are told that "the gay chansons of the Frenchman, singing of his amours on the pleasant banks of the Loire or the sunny regions of the Garonne; the broad guttural tones of the German, chanting some doughty *krieger-lied*, or extolling the vintage of the Rhine; the wild romance of the Spaniard reciting the achievements of the Cid, and many a famous passage of the Moorish wars; and the long and melancholy ditty of the Englishman," resounded around the Castilian camp-fires. Loxa unable to hold out against this host, capitulated after a vigorous resistance, and among the captives, the unlucky Boabdil, who had hastened to defend Loxa, in violation of his arrangement with Ferdinand, was found.

The capture of Illora and Moclín ensued, the latter a town on the frontier of Jaén.

The part which Isabella took in these flying pursuits and sieges is thus quaintly glossed by a chronicler: "While the king marched in front, laying waste the lands of the Philistines, Queen Isabella followed his traces, as the binder follows the reaper, gathering and garnering the rich harvest that has fallen beneath his sickle. In this she was greatly assisted by the counsels of that cloud of bishops, friars, and other saintly men, which continually surrounded her, garnering the first fruits of this infidel land into the granaries of the church."

The episodic character of the war gradually changed and was now concentrated on one of its crowning achievements — the siege of Malaga.

Malaga was called "the hand and mouth of Granada." from its being a great seaport town and keeping open communication with the other Mahometan powers of Turkey, Egypt, and the Barbary states. In a situation of surpassing loveliness, and commanding a plain that opens like a fan on the Mediterranean, rich as some antique-figured tapestry, with groves of orange, olive, and pomegranate, the golden grain-fields of Malaga yellow in an air ambered by the most passionate sunshine, while the perfume-sprinkled atmosphere, confined by lofty mountains as in a mighty transparent basin, has a delicacy and voluptuousness unknown elsewhere in Andalusia. In this epicurean abode rose the thronging battlements and fortresses of the Alcazaba, Gibralfaro, and Malaga itself, scowling defiance at the enemy, and serene in the consciousness of almost impregnable sites.



THE CATHEDRAL AND PORT OF MALAGA.

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No sooner had Ferdinand, after the conquest of the neighboring town of *Velez Malaga*, appeared and invested the place, than the wealthy mercantile population, enervated by luxury, and dreading the horrors of a lingering siege, were desirous of surrendering. But Hamet El Zegri; who commanded the crag-built castle of Gibralfaro opposite the city, despised the weakness of the population, and determined, come what would, to hold the place.

An infinitely picturesque siege, embellished by every imaginable romantic incident, — sallies, storming parties, thunderings of ponderous artillery, attempts at assassination of the king and queen by a Moorish fanatic, mines and counter-mines, embassies and stratagems, single combats and impassioned engagements, — varied the monotony of many months. Groves of sparkling lances, legions of helms and cuirasses, battalions of cross-bowmen and arquebusiers, took their places under the walls; and summons after summons to surrender, on favorable and on unfavorable terms, was sent in, to be rejected with scorn, by Hamet and his followers. Headlong fights, mutual discomfitures, going and coming of emissaries, vast preparations of carpenters and engineers, bursting of meteor-like masses of combustibles over the devoted city, furious resistances, carrying and counter-carrying of ditches, palisadoes and bridges, courtly grace and beauty — for Isabella was there — intermingled with the hideous shock, confusion, ferocity and havoc of war; such was the unrivalled scene before Malaga. But Malaga fell.

Boabdil, by another of the kaleidoscopic vicissitudes of this ever-changing war, had now succeeded in driving

El Zagal from Granada, and ensconced in his royal palace of the Alhambra, sent gratulation to the Catholic sovereigns for their success, accompanied by rich gifts of Arabian perfumes, silks, magnificently caparisoned steeds, embroidered robes, richly mounted arms, and costly burnouses.

Eventually Hunger, Discord, Despair — those mighty magicians that have converted so many sieges into capitulations, so many heroes into cowards — prevailed; and unhappy Malaga, led by Ali Dordux, an opulent merchant, came to terms.

The Moorish inhabitants were ransomed individually at thirty golden *doblas* each, man, woman, and child. All their jewels and coin had to be surrendered to the government as part payment of the ransom, and the rest was to be paid in eight months; even ransoms had to be paid for those who had died meantime. Slavery was the doom awaiting those unable to pay. The politic Ferdinand took care that the majority of the captives should not meet these stipulations, and some say that from eleven thousand to fifteen thousand of them became slaves and were scattered throughout Spain.

A Catholic chronicler preserves to us the legend of the passionate lament of the people of Malaga over their lost city, their vanished liberty, and their profound desolation.

“Oh Malaga, city so renowned and beautiful, where now is the strength of thy castle? where the grandeur of thy towers? Of what avail have been thy mighty walls for the protection of thy children? Behold them driven from thy pleasant abodes, doomed to drag out a life of bondage in a foreign land, and to die far from

the home of their infancy! What will become of thy old men and matrons, when their gray hairs shall be no longer revered? What will become of thy maidens, so delicately reared and tenderly cherished, when reduced to hard and menial servitude? Behold thy once happy families scattered asunder, never again to be united; sons separated from their fathers, husbands from their wives, and tender children from their mothers; they will bewail each other in foreign lands, but their lamentations will be the scoff of the stranger. Oh Malaga, city of our birth, who can behold thy desolation, and not shed tears of bitterness?"

Ferdinand at once proceeded against the remaining dominions of Abdallah El Zagal — dominions now a mere fragment of densely-populated sierra and sea-coast. This was in 1488. The populous cities of Baza, Guadix, and Almeria (an important sea-port), with numerous small towns which were sprinkled about these dominions, from the frontiers of Jaen, along the border of Murcia, to the Mediterranean, the Alpujarra range, and the perennial fountains of the Sierra Nevada soon fell.

Boabdil was now reminded of a treaty which had been made between him and Ferdinand; this treaty stipulated that in case the Catholic sovereigns should gain the cities of Guadix, Baza, and Almeria, Boabdil should surrender Granada, and accept in exchange several Moorish towns, to be held by him as vassal. Being called upon to fulfil his engagements Boabdil faltered, hesitated, temporized, and finally, by the influence of Muza Abul Gazan, a cavalier of royal lineage, great beauty, and chivalrous feeling, sent in a negative to Fer

dinand's demand for the surrender of Granada. King Ferdinand then turned his hostilities against this city.

Here then, amid the luxuriance and beauty of the vega of Granada, encircled by the silvery crests of the Sierra Nevada, overhung by the delightful groves and towers of the Alhambra, surrounded by the poetic associations and passionate souvenirs of the expiring Khalifate — here, in this second Damascus, this city of cunning artificers, dextrous horsemen, and graceful civilization — here where the Darro and the Xenil came down from the mountains of the myrtles, and, according to Moorish legend, ran grains of gold and silver as they united and meandered through the heavenly plain of Granada ; in this spot, sacred to stormy and tumultuous sensuality, to revolution, to Arabian poetry, to the Khalifs and sultanas, to religious fanaticism, tolerance, culture, bloodshed, to every paradox in short, the Moors were to make their last stand and vanquish or die in the holy battle of the faith.

Astonished and bewildered, the Moslems saw their empire departing from them by inches, until now, Granada alone — Granada the incomparable — remained.

Both sides made preparations for desperate measures. King Ferdinand, after a winter of preparation, took the field in April, with forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, resolved to sit down before Granada and never to quit its walls until the great banner of the cross waved from the mocking bastions of the Alhambra. Ponce de Leon, marquis of Cadiz, Alonzo de Aguilar, the master of Santiago, and the counts of Cabra. Urena, Cifuentes, and Tendilla, were among the valiant captains most conspicuous in this campaign. The

Moorish chivalry within the gates of the doomed city, swore eternal vengeance, constancy, and fidelity, and were led on by Muza, Naim Reduan, Mohamed Aben-Zayde, Abdel Kerim Zegri, and the alcaides of the Alcazaba and the palace. A spirit of contempt, of flaming zeal, of exultant enthusiasm, of passionate despair, fired and animated the twenty thousand young men of the city.

The beginning of the siege was more like a stately tournament; and gallantry, rich armor, and skilfully manipulated steeds were the order of the day. Soon Ferdinand forbade the acceptance of individual challenges, from the loss they occasioned, and with grim resolution went to work to build a fortified camp supplied with every necessary for a long-continued investment.

The gallant Hernan Perez del Pulgar succeeded in entering Granada and affixing a parchment containing *Ave Maria* in large letters to the door of the principal mosque. This was done in retaliation for the defiance of Tarfe the Moor, who, dashing through the Christian camp, hurled his lance, with a message for the queen attached, at the pavilion of the sovereigns.

Charles V. perpetuated Pulgar's exploit by permitting him and his descendants to sit during high mass, in the choir of the church built on the spot, and assigned as burial place for Pulgar himself, the identical ground where he had kneeled to nail the sacred legend.

The despairing valor of the Moors now shot up in one culminating blaze; an impetuous sally toward the close was made by Muza and Boabdil, but was utterly frustrated by the enemy's overwhelming force. The

Moors retired broken-hearted within their beautiful, blood-stained city, never more to come forth save to shame and degradation. "Their obstinate resistance," says Abarca, in his chronicles of the kings of Aragon, "shows the grief with which they yielded up the vega, which was to them a paradise and heaven. Exerting all the strength of their arms, they embraced, as it were, that most beloved soil, from which neither wounds, nor defeats, nor death itself, could part them. They stood firm, battling for it with the united force of love and grief, never drawing back the foot while they had hand to fight, or fortune to befriend them."

After a fire originating in the royal pavilion, which swept away an immense quantity of plate, jewels, costly stuffs, and armor, the wary Ferdinand resolved, as well to protect himself against a second contingency of the kind, as against the rigors of the approaching winter, to build a substantial camp; so that it was said that where lately nothing but airy tents and fluttering draperies were seen, now rose as if by miracle, mighty towers, powerful walls, and solid edifices—the cruciform camp-city of Santa Fé, as it was christened by the devout Isabella.

Hopeless at the sight of such preparations, tortured by famine, faction, suffering, and the terror of death, the people of Granada capitulated on the 2nd of January, 1492. Muza made his escape and mysteriously disappeared, never to be heard of again.

That there should be unconditional liberation of all Christian captives; that Boabdil and his cavaliers should do homage and swear fealty to the Castilian sovereigns; that the Moors of Granada should become

subjects of the crown, be protected in their religious observances, be governed by their own cadis, be exempted from tribute for three years, and then should pay the same they had been wont to pay to their own rulers; that those so desiring should depart to Africa with their effects and be given passage thither; such are the main outlines of the stipulations affecting the vanquished.

Boabdil had estates provided in perpetuity for him and his descendants within and without Granada, together with whatever had formed the royal patrimony before the surrender: and towns and lands in the Alpujarras were set aside as a sort of miniature sovereignty for him. He was to receive also on the day of surrender, thirty thousand doblas of gold.

The sad ceremonies of the capitulation took place in the presence of a countless multitude. Three minute guns thundered out the dying liberties of Morisma, and Boabdil, sallying forth from the Portal of the Seven Floors, delivered the keys of the city to Ferdinand in token of submission. "These keys," said he, "are the last relics of the Arabian empire in Spain; thine, O king, are our trophies, our kingdom, and our person. Such is the will of God! Receive them with the clemency thou hast promised, and which we look for at thy hands."

Presenting the count of Tendilla, who was to be governor of the city, with a costly ring, "With this ring," said he, "Granada has been governed; take it and govern with it, and God make you more fortunate than me."

When Boabdil, in his setting forth, reached an emi-

nence which commanded the last view of Granada, and looking back saw the great crucifix sparkling in the sunbeams that gave a pathetic loveliness to the Alhambra, it is said that, over-charged with grief, he could contain himself no longer, but bursting into tears, exclaimed, "Allah Achbah! God is great!" "You do well," exclaimed the wrathful Ayxa, "to weep like a woman for what you failed to defend like a man."

Down to late generations, the spot where the Moor turned back and beheld the illumined minarets of the Alhambra for the last time, was called "the Last Sigh of the Moor."

#### THE FLIGHT FROM GRANADA.

THERE was crying in Granada when the sun was going down ;  
Some calling on the Trinity, some calling on Mahoun.  
Here passed away the Koran there in the Cross was borne, —  
And here was heard the Christian bell, and there the Moorish  
horn;

*Te Deum Laudamus*, was up the Alcala sung ;  
Down from the Alhambra's minarets were all the crescents flung ;  
The arms thereon of Aragon they with Castile's display ;  
One king comes in in triumph, — one weeping goes away.

Thus cried the weeper, while his hands his old white beard did tear ;  
"Farewell, farewell, Granada! thou city without peer!  
Woe, woe, thou pride of heathendom! seven hundred years and  
more  
Have gone since first the faithful thy royal sceptre bore.

"Thou wert the happy mother of a high renowned race ;  
Within thee dwelt a haughty line, that now go from their place ;  
Within thee fearless knights did dwell, who fought with mickle  
glee, —  
The enemies of proud Castile, — the bane of Christentie!

"The mother of fair dames wert thou, of truth and beauty rare,  
Into whose arms did courteous knights for solace sweet repair;  
For whose dear sakes the gallants of Afric made display  
Of might in joust and battle on many a bloody day.

"Here gallants held it little thing for ladies' sake to die,  
Or for the prophet's honor, and pride of Soldanry;  
For here did valor flourish, and deeds of warlike might  
Ennobled lordly palaces in which was our delight.

"The gardens of thy Vega, its fields and blooming bowers, —  
Woe, woe! I see their beauty gone, and scattered all their flowers!  
No reverence can he claim, — the king that such a land hath lost, —  
On charger never can he ride, nor be heard among the host;  
But in some dark and dismal place, where none his face may see,  
There, weeping and lamenting, alone that King should be."

LOCKHART.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

[CONTINUED.]

**W**HILE, says an accomplished historian, the Spanish sovereigns were detained before Granada, they published their memorable and most disastrous edict against the Jews; inscribing it, as it were, with the same pen that drew up the capitulation of Granada and the treaty with Columbus.

Throughout the peninsula the Jews had attained an enviable degree of prosperity and wealth; sufficient excuse for the action of the Inquisition. Though three of the queen's private secretaries, Alvarez, Avila, and Pulgar were converted Jews, the great mass of the Jewish subjects passionately adhered to the ancient ritual. This of itself was a scandal to Spanish Christendom; but now, since proselytism met with stubborn opposition on their part, the Jews were accused of kidnapping and circumcising Christian children or crucifying them on Good Friday in derision of Christ, while indiscriminate charges of poisoning were brought against the Jewish apothecaries and physicians, and conversion of Catholics to the Jewish rite was alleged. It was asserted by the inquisitors that the only method of extirpating Israelitish practices absolutely, was expul-

sion of the race, allied though it might be by blood and marriage with some of the best stock of the realm ; and the immediate and final banishment of every unbaptized Israelite from the kingdom was insisted on. While certain prominent Jews were trying to propitiate the sovereigns, in their sore pecuniary distress, by offers of thirty thousand ducats towards defraying the expenses of the Moorish war, Torquemada, the grand inquisitor, burst into the palace of the sovereigns, and drawing forth a crucifix from beneath his mantle, held it up, exclaiming, "Judas Iscariot sold his master for thirty pieces of silver. Your Highnesses would sell him again for thirty thousand ; here he is ; take him and barter him away." Dashing the crucifix on the table, he rushed out of the apartment. The unparalleled impudence of this outburst had as its result the loss of the most skilful and ingenious portion of the population. The queen, overawed by the Dominican Torquemada, and accustomed to almost total obedience in matters of faith, yielded, contrary to her own humane and noble instincts, to the fierce suggestions of her confessor. Torquemada triumphed, and the edict for the expulsion of the Jews was signed March 30, 1492.

It is infinitely pathetic to read of the effect of this instrument in the homes of the exiled Israelites. Many of them, reared in elegance, highly educated, unaccustomed to privations of any sort, full of patriotism, loyalty, and self-sacrifice, intimately associated with all the glories and all the humiliations of Spain, now branded with infamy, were cast out helpless and defenceless, forbidden even to take their gold and silver with them, compelled in some cases to exchange a house for an

ass, and a vineyard for a suit of clothes, but pathetically constant and full of a sublime fortitude to the last.

The highways were thronged with delicate women, gray-haired old men, and weeping children, on their way to unknown and inhospitable lands, perhaps to slavery and death; eighty thousand passed into Portugal; many wandered hopeless to Cadiz and Santa Maria, and took passage for Africa, where they were plundered or slain by the robbers of Barbary. Agonizing details of hunger, violation, and cruelty reach us from this time. Some managed to secrete a little money in their garments or saddles; or, having been suspected of swallowing gold and silver coins, were ripped open with unspeakable torments and searched for the imagined wealth. Numbers, unable to endure the sorrows and hardships of wandering, staggered back to the beloved fatherland and were forced to the indignity of baptism, and that in such multitudes, that they could not be individually baptized but had to submit to sprinkling with a mop or a hyssop-branch; "thus," (forsooth) "renouncing their ancient heresies, they became faithful followers of the Cross."

At Naples, great numbers of them were swept off by a malignant disease; in Genoa, indescribable suffering accompanied those who had taken refuge there; the Levant and Turkey were filled with them, and their descendants still cling to the Castilian as their home vernacular. England, France, and Holland harbored a multitude, and it is said that even to-day the Spanish is heard in some of the London synagogues. The whole number of exiles is computed to be between one hundred and sixty thousand and eight hundred thousand



**PRISON OF THE INQUISITION.**

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thousand ; the more cautious historians incline to the smaller estimate.

The loss of the Jews, soon to be followed by that of the Moors, was irretrievable. The humiliation, ferocity, violation of all law and justice, and monstrous impiety involved in such a deed cannot be described in words ; and though the subject of lavish encomiums from enlightened contemporaries and of exultation as a great victory of the cross, the expulsion of the Jews must ever leave a stain on the otherwise spotless memory of Isabella.

The attempted assassination of Ferdinand while on a visit to Catalonia in 1492, after the conclusion of hostilities at Granada, spread general consternation through the country.

While Isabella's genius devoted itself with serene and lucid intelligence to the interior administration and organization of Spain, Ferdinand's temper and ambition signalized themselves by characteristic devotion to the foreign interests of the land. This leads us to an outline of the Italian wars.

The great cause of these complications was the claim of Charles VIII. to the crown of Naples, which had been in the possession of the Aragonese family for more than half a century, and had been solemnly so recognized by repeated sanctions of pope and people. Charles's claim was derived originally from a bequest of René, count of Provence, who excluded his own grandson, the rightful heir of the house of Anjou, in favor of the French king. At the time a misunderstanding existed between Charles and Spain ; he was at war with Germany and England, and little benefit could

be expected even if he succeeded in establishing his claim. But seeing the necessity of adopting a conciliatory policy, he proceeded to make peace with Henry VII. of England at Etaples, with Maximilian, emperor of Germany, at Sesnli, and with Ferdinand at Barcelona. By the treaty with Ferdinand the provinces of Cerdagne and Roussillon, originally mortgaged by Ferdinand's father, Juan II., to Louis XI. of France, for three hundred thousand crowns, were restored. Louis was to furnish aid against Ferdinand's rebellious Catalan subjects.

Both sides, however, failed in their engagements. Ferdinand with the dogged perseverance characteristic of his spirit, pursued his determination to recover these fair provinces by fair means or by foul, by negotiation, bribery, or arms, if necessary. Louis's successor, Charles, fortunately being impatient to prosecute his designs for the expulsion of Ferdinand II., son of Alfonso, from Naples, yielded with all imaginable speed to the king of Spain's solicitations and representations, and a treaty was signed by Charles at Tours and by Ferdinand at Barcelona, January 19, 1493. The principal stipulations of this treaty, rendered of great importance by what followed, were: mutual aid in war between the contracting parties; each should prefer the other's alliance, the *pope's excepted*; Spain should enter into no understanding with any power prejudicial to the interests of France, the *pope excepted*; Roussillon and Cerdagne should be restored to Aragon. But as doubts existed as to whom these provinces rightfully appertained, it was stipulated that arbitrators, named by the Spanish sovereigns, should be appointed, if re-

quested by Charles, with plenary powers to decide; and that both sides should abide by their decision.

The approaching conflict between Charles and Alfonso, successor of Ferdinand his father (1494), was highly interesting to Ferdinand, because he feared the formidable preparations of Charles would result in the subversion of the Neapolitan branch of his house, and the overthrow of his own dominions in Sicily. Charles, surrounded by the youthful chivalry of his court, appears to us, in the garrulous chronicles of Comines, as burning for an opportunity to distinguish himself. He crossed the Alps in August, 1494, overran the country with wonderful alacrity, treated friends and allies alike with the utmost perfidy, and in December victoriously entered the gates of Rome.

Meanwhile Ferdinand, by means of his ambassador Alonzo de Silva had come to an explicit understanding with Charles, who, under pretext of a crusade against the Turks, had introduced this army into Italy where he intended to linger just long enough to make good his claims to Naples. Ferdinand, after some preliminary compliments and generalities, cautioned him against forming any designs against Naples, which was a fief of the church, expressly excepted by the treaty of Barcelona which recognized the claims and authority of the church as paramount to every other obligation.

The chagrin of Charles, at what he called the perfidy of the Spanish court, in so broadly interpreting the compact of Barcelona, is difficult to describe. He had hoped for Ferdinand's non-interference, or even for his co-operation in the conquest of Naples, and he was greatly astounded that the rights of the church, perpet-

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ually disregarded and trampled under foot, should now be so scrupulously protected by the power beyond the Pyrenees. He contemptuously dismissed the Spanish envoy, and proceeded hurriedly to his Italian campaign. The admirable organization of the French infantry, its employment of battalions of Swiss mercenaries armed with huge pikes eighteen feet long, grouped in bristling and invulnerable masses called the *hedgehog*, its beautiful train of bronze ordnance, served with great skill and easily capable of demolishing the flimsy fortifications of the time, soon spread panic among the heavy armed cavalry, the soldiers of fortune, and the light and dancing chivalry of Italy. Copper tubes, covered with wood and hides, were no match for the artillery of the French, and the Italian soldiery, who sometimes fought for hours without loss of a single life — riveted in plates of steel as they were, and rejoicing in a repose not allowed to be disturbed by the thunder of guns between sunset and sunrise — soon gave way before the French.

Before coming to an open rupture with Charles, Ferdinand, in January 1495, sent another embassy to remonstrate with him. Pope Alexander had meanwhile propitiated Ferdinand by granting him two-ninths of the tithes throughout the kingdom of Castile, by promulgating bulls of crusade through Spain, granting one-tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues to be used in the protection of the Holy See, and, in 1494, conferring on the Spanish sovereigns, in imitation of the title "Most Christian" belonging to France, the title of *Catholic*, in recognition of their eminent virtues, their zeal in defence of the apostolic faith, their reformation

of conventual discipline, their subjugation of the Moors, and their purification of the kingdom from the pollution of the Jews. Ferdinand simultaneously, cognizant of the peril to his Sicilian dominions arising from the occupation of Naples by the French, sent a fleet over to the viceroy of Sicily and entrusted the land forces which were to co-operate with them to Gonsalvo de Cordova, well known as the Great Captain.

Charles, instead of complying with the representations of the new embassy to abandon his scandalous enterprise against a foe of the pope, cried out that Ferdinand's conduct was perfidious, that he had deliberately endeavored to circumvent him by introducing into the treaty the clause about the pope, and that it would be time enough to talk of the rights of Naples when he had possession of it.

Charles made a solemn entry into Naples, in February, 1495, jauntily assumed the title of King of Jerusalem and Sicily, and affected the state and authority of emperor. Satisfied with this, and overcome like Hannibal by the effeminate pleasures of the sunny and voluptuous Campo Felice, he abandoned his Quixotic crusade against Constantinople and wasted his time in frivolous amusements.

Alarmed at the progress of Charles, Austria, Rome, Milan, Venice, and Spain formed, in 1495, the celebrated league of Venice—the first of the multifold coalitions and combinations for mutual defence in Europe—whose design was to break and overthrow the power of the now frightened “king of Jerusalem.”

We have thus briefly indicated the causes of this war, but it will be impossible for us to follow its incidents in

detail. The licentiousness and indolence of Charles disgusted his people, alienated his allies, and helped his enemies ; he plundered Naples of her precious antiques, sculptured marble and alabaster, curiously wrought gates of bronze, and rare architectural ornaments ; he utterly failed in his absurd assumption of universal sovereignty at his pretended coronation in Naples, May 12th ; he recrossed the mountains in October, 1495 ; and his memorable expedition, crowned at first by complete success, left no permanent result except a legacy of disastrous and interminable wars. Gilbert de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, old Brantome's "grand chevalier sans reproche," was left behind as viceroy of Naples, — no peer of the illustrious Gonsalvo de Cordova, commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces.

Born at Montilla in 1453, Gonsalvo de Cordova grew up in the tumult of the Moorish and insurrectionary wars. The polish and distinction of his manners, the beauty of his brilliant countenance and chestnut hair, the magnificence of his dress and style, his matchless gallantry, the splendor and ostentatiousness of his armor — his proficiency in every knightly accomplishment winning for him the name of "El principe de los caballeros," the "prince of cavaliers" — the long line of his eminent and distinguished services in the Portuguese and Granada wars, his chivalrous regard for women, his prudence, dexterity, and fertility of resource, all recommended him to Isabella not only as an unsurpassed social favorite and politician, but as the person best fitted to command the Italian army. He was accordingly invested with the command of the land forces, and arrived at Messina in May, 1495.

The glory of having in twelve months, with the most limited resources, defeated the bravest and best disciplined army in Europe, commanded by Montpensier and d' Aubigny, won for Gonsalvo, when he had reached Atella in his march of conquest, the title of the Great Captain. An honorable and glorious reception awaited him when, after succoring the pope by expelling the French from Ostia, he was complimented by the designation of "Deliverer of Rome," presented with the golden rose, and, on passing over into Spain, in 1498, sumptuously entertained and welcomed by his sovereigns. Frederic II. — the sixth king who during the three years previous had occupied the disastrous throne of Naples — endowed him with the title of Duke of St. Angelo and an estate containing three thousand vassals. Peace with France, after some hostilities in Roussillon, ensued after the luckless issue of the Calabrian campaigns, so well manœuvred and consummated by Gonsalvo. The treaty was signed, after the death of Charles VIII., at Marcoussis, in August, 1498.

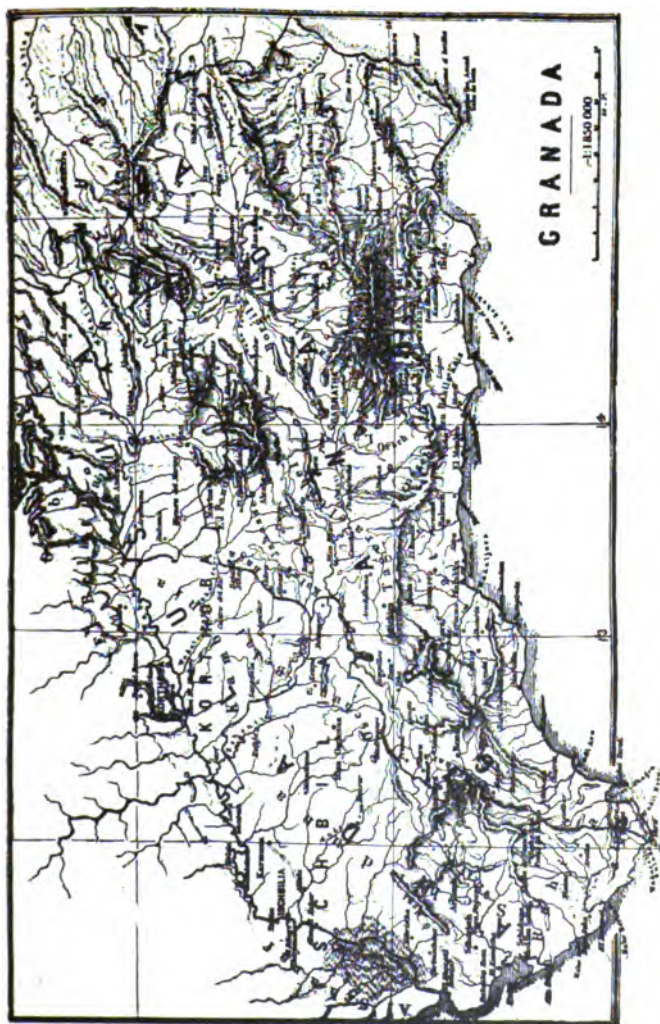
The vigor, sagacity, and subtle diplomatic gifts of the Spanish king in the conduct of this war, his devout attitude throughout the hostilities as a champion of the church, and his promptness in meeting extraordinary emergencies, gained him a European reputation; while the educational advantages of the campaign to the Spanish soldiers, their dwelling for so long in a new world, their acquisition of useful lessons in tactics, the more thorough organization of a disciplined militia, resulting from observation of, and contact with, foreign powers, cannot be overestimated.

Ferdinand and Isabella had five children; one son, Juan, (June 30, 1478) and four daughters — Isabel

(1470), Juana (1479), Mária (1482), and Catharine (1485). None of them were distinguished by the keen intellect of their mother, but all were carefully educated and made powerful alliances. Prince Juan married Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian ; and Maximilian's son, the archduke Philip, sovereign of the Low Countries in his mother's right, married Juana (Crazy Jane), second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella—alliances, opening the way to vast vistas and changes in European diplomacy and geography. Doña Catalina became conspicuous in English history by her marriage with Arthur, prince of Wales, and afterwards with his brother Henry VIII. Isabella, princess of the Asturias, married first Alfonso, the heir of Portugal, and, on his death, the noble and enlightened Emanuel, king of Portugal, on whom the crown had devolved at the death of king João in 1495. By the untimely death of Prince Juan without heirs, in 1497, — a young prince of exalted character and intelligence, — the succession devolved on Isabella of Portugal, who, before anything had been definitely determined concerning her succession to the united monarchies, died in 1498, leaving one son, Miguel.

Miguel, however, died in his second year, when the succession devolved on "Crazy Jane" and her heirs.

At this moment two brilliant figures meet us in the thick of Spanish history ; one distinguished by consummate talents for business, by charming address, by great and lofty views, by pomp, and munificence, by propensities to gallantry, and by encouragement liberally given to learning and learned men ; the other, austere, ascetic, contemplative, ingenious in the rigor of his fastings, prayers, and self-torment, living on the green herbs and



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running waters, exalted by self-mortification till he fancied himself in communication with celestial intelligences, — haggard, thin, commanding — a bitter-tongued monk, versed in the fathers, and yet carrying beneath his marble exterior a blazing coal of passionate and unsuspected ambition. Mendoza, the “Grand Cardinal” and “third king of Spain” as he was called, formed a complete contrast to Ximénès. The sunlight, the joyousness, the spacious and genial nature of the one was thrown into luminous relief by the shadowy spirituality, the lovelessness, the misanthropic isolation of the other. Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain, had supreme control in the cabinet for twenty years, and returned the confidence of his sovereigns by a course thoroughly in harmony with their own. By his death in 1495, the see became vacant and was presented to Francisco Ximénès de Cisneros, a Franciscan monk of low birth, the queen’s confessor, recommended to her by the dying cardinal for his rare combination of talent and virtue.

At first, Ximénès peremptorily refused the dignity; he was devoted to meditation, to the practices of humility and piety, to a sequestered life far from the vanities and vexations of the world; and moreover, being nearly sixty years of age, he could hardly be charged with hypocrisy and affectation in shunning the commanding responsibilities of so exalted a station. He yielded at length, though after a resistance of six months, solely to the bull of the pope, who insisted upon his no longer declining an appointment which the church had sanctioned. He was thus almost literally dragged from the rigors of the monastery to the prim-

acy of most Catholic Spain, while retaining to the last his simple and austere manners, his large charities, his domestic economy, his abstemious diet, and the coarse frock of St. Francis under the costly silks and furs of the archbishop's robes. Schemes of reform among the monastic orders, in defiance of the clamors and outcries of his enemies, were effected by him in conjunction with the apostolic nuncio. Searching examination was made into the conduct and morals of religious institutions of every sort ; the sloth and sensuality of the lower clergy were rigorously punished ; and purity, chastity, and self-restraint, long unknown, became once more no extraordinary virtues among the ministers of religion.

## CHAPTER XV.

### REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

[CONTINUED.]

**B**UT dazzling as were the sombre gifts of Ximénes, glowing as he was with holy fervor for the church, inflexible to the point of enduring in his youth years of imprisonment rather than sacrifice what he thought the right, he signally lacked tact, toleration, and ordinary human charity. This he showed in his persecution of the unfortunate Moors of Granada.

At first, treated strictly within the letter of the terms of capitulation, the Granada Moors rejoiced in the conciliatory policy, the kindly temper, and the benevolent measures of the sovereigns and the Christian archbishop of Granada. Dissimilar as they were in habits, institutions, language, and religion to their conquerors, they could not at once abandon their most sacred associations for a lying conformity with Catholicism; but the eloquence, bounty, and goodness of the archbishop, self-interest, and the necessity of living, brought hundreds within the pale of the church. All might have gone well, had not Ximénes, impatient at the obduracy and infidelity of some of the prominent Moors, added terror, imprisonment, torture, and the *auto de fe* as

further stimulants to a happy and multitudinous conversion.

Reserving three hundred works devoted to medical science for his contemplated university library at Alcalá he caused thousands of exquisitely executed Arabic manuscripts, connected with theology and scientific subjects, to be burned in one of the great squares of the city. He exhausted the hitherto marvellous patience of the Moors by his oppressions : a rebellion broke out in the Albaycin—the Moorish, now the Gypsy quarter of Granada—Ximénes was besieged in his palace, barely escaping the populace ; but the tumult was finally stilled by the personal influence and popularity of Talavera, archbishop of Granada. Ximénes rushed to court, recapitulated what had happened, and prevailed on Ferdinand and Isabella to send commissioners to Granada to investigate the late disturbances. As a result, fifty thousand persons were miraculously “converted,” and kept the fires of the Inquisition lighted for a hundred years ; and soon, abjuring their ancient superstition and receiving baptism, they lost their names of Moors and came gradually to be denominated *Moriscoes*. Thus “Ximénes had achieved greater triumphs than even Ferdinand and Isabella, since they had conquered only the soil, while he had gained the souls of Granada.”

This strain of exultation, indulged in by the good archbishop Talavera, was soon exchanged for one of lamentation. The wild regions of the Alpujarras—a multitudinous system of sierras, filled with a fierce and unregenerate Moorish population,—had escaped the baptismal hyssop of Ximénes, and beheld with indignation the faithless conduct pursued toward their com-

patriots below, they seized the fortresses in the mountains, regarded with contempt the apostasy of Granada, and began their work of extermination on the Christian territories adjacent. Gonsalvo de Cordova and the count of Tendilla undertook to bring "God's enemies" to terms. Alonzo de Aguilar, eldest brother of Gonsalvo de Cordova, was sent to the neighborhood of Ronda, the centre of this savage insurrection; and here



CARDINAL XIMÈNES.

took place the appalling defeat and death of Alonzo and the famous engineer Ramirez de Madrid, rendered ever memorable by the exquisite ballad, —

Rio Verde, Rio Verde,  
Tinto va en sangre viva.

The dismal news of the defeat made an incredible sensation. Measures of great vigor were instantly taken to crush the accursed infidel and no great time passed before, seeing the hopelessness of their cause, the Moriscoes sent in deputies deprecating the king's anger and suing for pardon. Conversion or banishment was the answer.

The story of the Rio Verde—ininitely sad and tragical as it was—lingered for ages in the memories of the Spaniards, and gave birth to a group of tender commemorative ballads unsurpassed for their sweet and musical melancholy. And well has it been said that the embalming touch of this beautiful minstrelsy has made the sombre episode more enduring than the most elaborate chronicles of carefully compiled history.

FERNANDO, king of Aragon, before Granada lies,  
With dukes and barons many a one, and champions of emprise;  
With all the captains of Castile that serve his lady's crown,  
He drives Boabdil from his gates, and plucks the crescent down.

The cross is reared upon the towers for our Redeemer's sake;  
The king assembles all his powers, his triumph to partake,  
Yet at the royal banquet there's trouble in his eye—  
"Now speak thy wish, it shall be done, great king," the lordlings  
cry.

Then spake Fernando, "Hear, grandees! which of ye all will go,  
And give my banner in the breeze of Alpuxar to blow?  
Those heights along, the Moors are strong; now who, by dawn of  
day,  
Will plant the cross their cliffs among, and drive the dogs  
away?"—

Then champion on champion high, and count on count doth look;  
And faltering is the tongue of lord, and pale the cheek of duke;  
Till starts up brave Alonzo, the knight of Aguilar,  
The lowmost at the royal board, but foremost still in war.

And thus he speaks: "I pray, my lord, that none but I may go;  
For I made promise to the Queen, your consort, long ago,  
That ere the war should have an end, I, for her royal charms,  
And for my duty to her grace, would show some feat of arms." —

Much joyed the king these words to hear — he bids Alonzo  
speed —

And long before their revel 's o'er, the knight is on his steed;  
Alonzo's on his milk-white steed, with horsemen in his train —  
A thousand horse, a chosen band, ere dawn the hills to gain.

They ride along the darkling ways, they gallop at the night;  
They reach Nevado ere the cock hath harbingered the light,  
But ere they've climbed that steep ravine, the east is glowing red,  
And the Moors their lances bright have seen, and Christian banners spread.

Beyond the sands, between the rocks, where the old cork trees  
grow,

The path is rough, and mounted men must singly march and slow;  
There o'er the path the heathen range their ambuscado's line,  
High up they wait for Aguilar, as the day begins to shine.

There nought avails the eagle-eye, the guardian of Castile,  
The eye of wisdom, nor the heart that fear might never feel,  
The arm of strength that wielded well the strong mace in the fray,  
Nor the broad plate, from whence the edge of falchion glanced  
away.

Not knightly valor there avails, nor skill of horse and spear,  
For rock on rock comes tumbling down from cliff and cavern  
drear;

Down — down like driving hail they come, and horse and horse-  
men die

Like cattle, whose despair is dumb when the fierce lightnings fly.

Alonzo, with a handful more, escapes into the field,  
There like a lion stands at bay, in vain besought to yield;  
A thousand foes around are seen, but none draws near to fight.  
Afar with bolt and javelin they pierce the steadfast knight.



Jews, baptizing or banishing all Moors twelve and fourteen years of age. Penalties of death and confiscation were affixed if any carried gold or silver out of the country or emigrated to the dominions of the Grand Turk or to hostile parts of Africa.

Thus a dominion eight hundred years old was overthrown in twenty years.

At this point in our narrative we are again confronted with the Italian wars which, far from being put to everlasting sleep as they deserved to be, by the death of Charles VIII., broke out afresh on the accession of his successor, Louis XII.

In November, 1500, took place the equal partition of the kingdom of Naples between France and Spain. Frederic II. was excluded as having called in the assistance of the Turks, bitter enemies of Christianity. Apulia and Calabria in the south, fell to Spain; Lavoro and Abruzzo in the north, fell to France.

Ferdinand tried to justify his part of this astounding proceeding by laying emphasis on the illegitimacy of the branch of the Aragonese house to whom Alfonso, his uncle, had left the kingdom, and the necessity of bringing these important possessions again within the control of the legitimate branch. Kept rigidly secret for a while, the terms of the treaty became known to Alexander VI. as soon as the Sire d'Aubigny crossed the papal borders at the head of the French army. He confirmed the partition, and in July the French entered the Neapolitan frontier.

It was soon seen, however, that the pretensions of the two parties to the partition were irreconcilable. The

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central portion, between the southern and northern portions, embracing the Capitanate, the Basilicate, and Principality, formed a debatable ground not mentioned in the treaty, which soon brought both kings to an open rupture. The French began hostilities, and soon the war raged unequivocally on both sides.

Gonsalvo triumphed. D'Aubigny, with the wreck of his forces surrendered; Naples was entered with pomp by the great captain, May 14, 1503; and every considerable place in the kingdom except Gaeta tendered its submission.

During the progress of the war Charles V., son of Philip I. of the Netherlands and Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was born in Ghent, February 24, 1500 — an event of moment, as, by the death of Prince Miguel, Charles was now heir of the united monarchies of Castile, Aragon, Sicily, Naples, and the Netherlands, and on the death of his father, Philip the Handsome, he was to become emperor of Germany. Philip I. abhorred the punctilious Spaniards and shortly after the ceremony of his son's recognition by the Cortes, the archduke, despite the critical condition of his queen, whom he intended to leave in Spain, announced his intention of an immediate return to the Netherlands, which he carried out by traversing France.

At this point, Juana, approaching the period of the birth of her second son, Ferdinand (March 10, 1503), began to show symptoms of the eccentricity which afterwards developed into the most fantastic aberration. Despondency at the absence of the gay and sparkling Philip, seized her, and she refused to be comforted. Insanity was hereditary in the family; it had tainted

the intellect of Isabella's mother, it took the form of religious enthusiasm in several of Isabella's daughters, it sent Charles, her grandson, to the cloister, made a gloomy bigot of his son, Philip II., and probably urged the wretched Don Carlos, son of Philip, to an ignominious death.

The French invasion of Spain by way of Roussillon in 1503, proved utterly futile.

Here the philosophic historian pauses to recount the strange contrast presented by the civilization of Italy and the utter wretchedness contemporary with it. The golden age of Italian literature, architecture, and art was at hand; Florence, Venice, and Rome were the busy scene of an intellectual and æsthetic activity which threw its conceptions into the most sumptuous forms. Palaces, paintings, poems innumerable, came flowing in a rich stream from the fingers of artist, architect, and poet. Luxurious refinement pervaded the upper classes of society. The revival of classical learning after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, spread a general and eloquent enthusiasm for the masterpieces of Greek art and Roman antiquity. A splendid assemblage of genius graced the petty courts of Italy. At a period nearly contemporary with this, Ariosto was singing his immortal song; Rafaëlle was blazoning the walls of the Vatican with incomparable frescoes; Michael Angelo was rearing his mighty dome; Leonardo with exhaustless versatility was scattering his powers over the varied fields of music, engineering, painting, and geology; and Machiavelli began to publish, through his Prince, those subtle and insidious political maxims which became incarnate in the princes of

his native land and totally excluded politics from the range of the the moral sciences.

With all this beauteous outburst of human genius and intelligence was associated, as in dismal and endless undertone, the ghastly threnody of the Italian wars. Pitiless fury, debased patriotic sentiment, cruelty not to be described, a bestialized papacy, butchery, bloodshed, and the upas-shadow of the Inquisition, distinguished



ISABELLA DICTATING HER WILL.

these fantastic times equally with exquisite culture, love of art, and consummate civilization.

The success of the Spaniards in Italy (1504) was due to the innovations in their arms introduced by Gonsalvo, the obedience and subordination of the soldiery, and the invincible energy of the great captain himself. With an absurdly small force he annihilated the gener-

als and armies of France, conquered the kingdom of Naples, and educated his troops to a system of tactics and military mining — brought by him to unprecedented perfection in the course of the war — which afterwards made the Spanish troops the finest in Europe.

On November 26, 1504, died the ever-glorious and memorable Isabella I., in the fifty-fourth year of her age, and thirtieth of her reign. To say that she was loved and lamented by her people, would be hardly describing the adoration they paid her — their mother, their friend, their queen, their protector. Universal homage was paid to her virtues. Her grace, tact, and courage, the sweetness and symmetry of her features, her abstemiousness, piety, and abhorrence of ostentation: her bigotry, excused and softened by the tenor of the times, her unbending principle, hatred of duplicity, practical good sense, and tender sensibility; her distaste for extravagance in dress, her skilful selection of agents to accomplish her plans, her contempt of physical pain and fatigue, and her benevolence, first among the sovereigns of Europe to institute camp hospitals for the help of her poor sick soldiers; the remembrance of all this threw a halo around her memory.

By her will, executed October 12, 1504, she left the crown of Castile to the Infanta Juana as "queen proprietor," and the archduke Philip, her husband. In the absence or incapacity, of Juana, Ferdinand was appointed sole regent of Castile until the majority of her grandson, Charles. The king and Ximénes were the chief executors. She left also specific directions as to the codification of the laws, injunctions characterized by the utmost tenderness concerning the conversion,

civilizing, and gentle treatment of the Indians of the New World, and commands that the sources of the crown income derived from the Alcavalas should be investigated and put upon a pure and correct basis.

Ferdinand having resigned the crown of Castile, which he had so successfully held for thirty years, assumed the title of administrator or governor of Castile. The cortes and grandees acknowledged Juana as queen and lady proprietor; but in consideration of her mental state, tendered their homage to Ferdinand in her name, as the lawful governor of the realm. A season of uneasiness and perplexity ensued, owing to the pretensions of Philip, who wrote requiring his father-in-law, to resign the government at once, and retire to Aragon. Philip attempted to tamper with Gonsalvo de Cordova in the endeavor to secure Naples. Ferdinand, at his wit's end owing to his growing unpopularity and the discontent of the grandees, who had always looked upon him as an alien and interloper, resolved to seek the alliance of France by a marriage with Germaine, niece of Louis XII., which was confirmed by the disgraceful treaty of Blois in 1505. If he had male issue, Aragon and its dependencies must be totally severed from Castile. If he did not, he was to share the splendid Italian conquests with his unsuccessful competitor in these conquests. An arrangement so incompatible with the customary sagacity of the Catholic king roused the ridicule and astonishment of Europe.

By the concord of Salamanca in November, 1505, made between Philip and Ferdinand, Castile was to be governed jointly by Ferdinand, Philip, and Juana — an arrangement intended by Philip to lull the suspicions

of his father-in-law until he could effect a landing in Spain, when he meant to take matters into his own hands.

In 1506, Ferdinand married the volatile Germaine, and in the same year Philip and Juana arrived at Coruña, after their embarkation from the Netherlands. The personal beauty, generosity, and openness of disposition peculiar to the archduke, soon won for him a numerous and powerful following. Though Ferdinand received him courteously, he soon saw the hopelessness of a conflict with so general a favorite, and on the 27th of June, resigned the entire sovereignty of Castile to Philip and Juana, reserving to himself only the grand-masterships of the military orders and the revenues left him by Isabella's testament. With monstrous dissimulation he protested in private that this concession was wrung from him by force, and that he should take the first opportunity in spite of his solemn oath, of recovering his imagined possessions and releasing his daughter from what he called her captivity.

Between 1504 and 1506 occurred the last voyage, illness, and death of the illustrious Columbus.

Philip, after a short and inglorious reign, characterized by reckless extravagance, gross favoritism toward his Flemish courtiers, and arbitrary government, died suddenly in 1506 while Ferdinand was on his way to Naples. In 1507 Ferdinand returned to Spain and was greeted with universal satisfaction; and as the condition of Juana—wild, haggard, emaciated, and squalid as she was, refusing peremptorily ever to sign a state-paper and, lingering, in the end, for forty-seven years, without ever quitting her palace at Tordesillas—seemed

so desperate, Ferdinand began to exercise an authority nearly as undisputed as, and far less clearly defined than, during the life-time of his noble consort. "Crazy Jane," as she was now called, remained plunged in profound melancholy; she would not let the remains of Philip be buried; she journeyed by night, saying "that a widow, who had lost the sun of her own soul, should never expose herself to the light of day;" she had continual funeral ceremonies performed wherever she halted; and jealously excluded every female from even approaching the perambulating corpse. Her grotesque horror, on once discovering that Philip's remains had been deposited in a nunnery, is more easily conceived than pictured in words. Gleams of intelligence visited her every now and then, nor does she seem by any means to have been so absolutely incapable as is usually said.

Ximénes, who had lately received a cardinal's hat from Julius II. and had succeeded Deza as inquisitor-general of Castile, now conceived a bold and extraordinary enterprise. This was no less than the capture of the opulent city of Oran, on the African coast — an enterprise led, equipped, and achieved by himself personally out of his own revenues as primate of Spain. This was in 1509. His genius overcame the almost insuperable obstacles put in his way by the jealousy of the nobles, the coolness of the king, and the magnitude of the preparations necessary to equip his ten thousand foot, four thousand horse, and eighty galleys; while "a monk fighting the battles of Spain, whereas the great captain was left to stay at home, and count his beads like a hermit," gave rise to sneers. The troops, however, after an impassioned harangue from the primate,

rushed to victory, shouting "Santiago and Ximenes," while superstition said that the stupendous miracle of Joshua staying the sun in its course, was repeated for the venerable archbishop.

Perhaps the illustrious prelate's chief claim to recognition, however, lies in his founding the university of Alcalá and his Polyglot translation of the bible. The university was founded with solemn ceremonies in 1500 and grew up a beautiful mass of picturesque and elegant architecture, furnished completely with everything requisite for the comfort and accommodation of a vast number of students. The famous Complutensian Polyglot, entrusted to nine scholars renowned for skill and erudition in the ancient tongues, was fifteen years executing, being finished in 1517, after great difficulties in printing, and by the aid of artists imported from Germany. Nearly four centuries after it was found that the precious manuscripts used in the translation had all been disposed of to a rocket-maker of Alcalá who soon used them up as waste paper.

On October 4, 1511, the Holy League was formed between Ferdinand, Julius II. and Venice (afterwards joined by Henry VIII. of England) with the object of driving the French out of Italy. In this the Spaniards were again victorious. In 1512, Navarre, which, allied with France, had refused the passage of some English troops coming to co-operate with Ferdinand in his descent on Guienne, was reduced to submission by the duke of Alva, grandfather of him of the Netherlands. Jean d'Albret, its letters-loving and amiable sovereign, took refuge in France. A truce in 1513, put an end to the wars in the territories west of the Alps, for two

years, during which Navarre, by solemn act of cortes was incorporated (1515), with the kingdom of Castile, rather than with the more intimately connected and contiguous Aragon. Whether regarded as an unblushing usurpation, a measure of expediency, or as the restoration of its ancient historical union with Castile, the conquest of Navarre, with the general levelling of its fortresses and fortified places ended forever the existence of an independent and aggressive monarchy in the heart of the great political net-work of Spain.

The "Gran Capitan," now distrusted by Ferdinand, became morbid, irritable, and melancholy, and finally, consumed by inward fever and infirmities, breathed his last at his palace in Granada, December, 1515.

On the morning of January 23, 1516, Ferdinand himself, yielding to a distressing heart disease, died in a small house belonging to the friars of Guadaloupe. "In so wretched a tenement did this lord of so many lands close his eyes upon the world!" exclaimed the pious Peter Martyr.

By his will he settled the succession of Aragon and Naples on Juana and her heirs. Ximénes was entrusted with the administration of Castile during Charles's absence in the Netherlands, and Aragon to the king's natural son, the archbishop of Saragossa.

He had reigned forty-one years over Castile, and thirty-seven over Aragon, and died in his sixty-fourth year. His body, at first laid beside Isabella's in the monastery of the Alhambra, was removed with hers the next year, to the Cathedral church of Granada, where Charles V. afterward erected the mausoleum of exquisitely carved marble still visible to-day.

Robert,

son of William, C. of Burgundy.  
D. 1150. I. of Aragon, VII. of Castile and Leon.

NSO VIII. (2) — (1) Richilda of Poland. (2) — Raimond Berenger II. of Provence.  
26-1157. (3) — Raimond V. of Toulouse.

Urraca — Garcia IV. of Navarre

Sancia — (2) Alfonso II. of Aragon.

Maria, dau. of Sancho I. of Portugal.

Philip.  
male and Ponthieu.

Berengaria (Mary) — (2) John de Brienne, Eastern Emp.

(2)

Eleanor — Edward I. of England.

Beatrice — Alfonso III. of Portugal.

Beatrice.

1200-1268. — Blanche, dau. of Peter I. of Bourbon.

(Edward III. of England.)

John of Gaunt.

Edmund, Duke of York. — Isabella.

Isabella of Portugal.

(1)

1. HENRY IV., 1404-1413, (1) — Blanche of Navarre.

ob. s. p.

(2) — Joanna, dau. of Edward of Portugal.

1. (2) — 4. Mary.

Catherine (1) — Arthur, P. of Wales.

(2) — Henry VIII. of England.



Ferdinand was a bigot ; he was not free from the taint of perfidy tossed to and fro so freely in that age ; he was parsimonious, subtle and insincere ; he utterly lacked geniality, and never threw off the gravity which he thought becoming the Spanish grandee ; he indulged in vicious gallantries, in egotistic designs, in an ill-assorted second marriage ; he was suspicious, vulgar, and uneducated ; all this one is willing to grant, and yet concede that there were elements of true grandeur in his character. In the judgment of many of his contemporaries, he was the most renowned and glorious monarch in Christendom. Impartial, economical, indefatigable in his application to business, he was neither epicure nor ostentatious ; he loved history, horsemanship, the rites and ritual of a splendid church ceremonial, knightly virtues and chivalrous undertakings ; and with unusual control over his temper, undaunted personal courage, and a far-seeing political sagacity, he made few bad mistakes, and, by wonderful good fortune, raised Spain, jointly with his magnanimous queen, from a conglomeration of reciprocally hostile states into a spacious and concentrated European empire.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE SPANISH NAVIGATORS.

**C**OLUMBUS, starting out with letters for the Grand Khan of Tartary, is a type of the Spanish navigators of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Ignorance, superstition, romanticism, boundless pluck, quaint pertinacity of purpose, love of gold, imaginative schemes for the re-conquest of the Holy Sepulchre, the hope of prefixing Don (up to that time allowed only to persons of rank) to their names, the hope of immortality and of immensely extending the Castilian arms ; such were a few of the motives impelling the men of that age and producing the intellectual fermentation which characterized these famous centuries.

Silks, gems, precious stones, luxurious commodities, perfumes, wealth of all sorts, played hide-and-seek before the credulous imaginations of the age, tempting men on vague report to venture their frail barks out on unknown waters, stimulating commercial intercourse between nations, making men ransack dusty libraries for old copies of Strabo, Pliny, Mela, Plato, and Ptolemy, that they might see what the ancients had said about elysiums beyond the seas, and filling the universities and Mediterranean towns with throngs of men,

eager to test by actual experiment the existence of the New Atlantis, the shadowy Cipango, and the glittering principalities of the remote Indies.

A rapid and universal advance in culture ensued on the invention of printing. Men no longer won their sole education by campaigning in Palestine, Germany or Italy, and wresting from Guelph or Infidel a laborious subsistence. The scholar, the recluse, the brooding ecclesiastic, the conventual hermit, the burgher and the nobleman alike, could stay at home, read of the remarkable achievements of men, pursue speculative and experimental science to advantage, and gradually attain that point whence discovery of every sort followed as a matter of course. Even "the Ocean Sea," gloomy and immeasurable as it spread out from the western shores of Europe, came at length to be timidly traversed; the girdling equatorial fires crossed; the fantastically brilliant sunlight of the poles penetrated; the scented spice islands, so alluring to the early navigators, tracked and revealed; whilst the sparkling archipelagoes of India and Mexico, where men were said to catch gold in nets and festoon themselves with pearls, opened like some fairy-land before their gaze.

Two simple instruments—the Compass and the Astrolabe—helped to do all these wonders for mankind. The Chinese, it is said, had groped about their yellow seas with a southward-pointing needle, to which polarity had been communicated by means of the loadstone, as early as the third or fourth century of the Christian era; but the use of the needle in Europe, though probably of considerable antiquity, is not mentioned before 1100. The loves of the needle and the

North star, the steadfastness with which the metallic thread pointed to the bright apparition of the star Alpha, — were a mystery and a wonder to the simple navigators as they began to utilize the discovery and pass through the Pillars of Hercules out into the unknown sea.

Then Martin Behem invented for the Portuguese a huge iron ring three feet in circumference, — the Astrolabe, — by which latitude could be taken. Arabian sages had meanwhile been measuring a degree of latitude, and calculating the circumference of the globe. Prince Henry of Portugal, in whose veins flowed the blood of Philippa of Lancaster, gave a wonderful impetus to discovery, before his death in 1473, by endowing a naval college and observatory, and accomplishing the exploration of the African coast from Cape Blanco to Cape de Verde, unravelling the darkness of the occidental seas for fifteen hundred miles, and plucking from them as it were, the Azores with their myriads of hawks, and the horizon-touching Cape de Verde islands, far to the west.

It is delightful to read of the Portuguese navigators ; of Lisbon in the fifteenth century, marvelling and marvellous with ever-recurring tales of new lands and continents in the Antarctic south ; of new expeditions steadily putting forth from the ports of the little kingdom, to re-achieve Hanno's legendary circumnavigation of Africa ; of squadrons returning with sun-burnt Lusitanian tars, whose lips waxed as eloquent as Maundeville's or Marco Polo's, over the things they had seen and suffered in those seas ; of Vasco de Gama, a little later on, performing his dazzling *tour de force* of doub-

ling the cape of Good Hope and passing on to the diamonds and pagodas of the Orient; of papal bulls granting the Portuguese sovereign authority over all the lands his people might discover in the Atlantic to India inclusive, and threatening disaster to all who should interfere with these discoveries.

Though love of money was largely at the bottom of these astonishing deeds, there is hardly one of the primitive navigators, from Columbus in his diaries to Cortés in his commentaries; from Vespucci, dimly travelling in Columbus's track to Orellana, floating down the mighty Amazon, who was not a poet. Setting forth in their crazy caravels, without logarithms, dead reckoning lines, or means of determining the variations of the magnetic needle; without decks to their ships; exposed to the icy chill of the Atlantic night and the blaze of the equatorial day; with mouldy provisions, drenched skins, and comfortless quarters, month in month out, they went on with unconquerable gladness, ship after ship full of smiling argonauts, — a search for the golden fleece, reminding us of the rowers of the Odyssey, steadfast as stars to find land in these illimitable waters and guided to it in the end with an instinct truly infallible.

The old saga-tellers of Iceland have left us in Eirik the Red's saga, a charming account, vividly portrayed, of the southward sailings of the Icelanders; of their meeting with the elf-locked Esquimaux; of their passage to the St. Lawrence, and of the white buffalo robes, long spears, war-whoop, feather-decked garments, and weapons of the red Indians they met; but we have no account prior to Columbus of the great oceanic em-

pire in the South wherein Columbus hung his pear-shaped paradise, wherein he expected to hear the pagoda-bells of China, where his exquisite poetic sense gave a mysterious intelligence to everything, and where everything was pregnant with scriptural allusion or prophecy for him.

Columbus's probable birthplace was Genoa, and the date of his birth has been approximately determined as having occurred about the year 1435. His early knowledge of geography, astronomy, geometry, and navigation was acquired at the university of Pavia. At fourteen he was before the mast, peering into dim seas and picturing to himself undiscovered mountains with the ardent imagination of one precociously ripened and already conscious of a destiny awaiting him. His Mediterranean and Levant voyages are beclouded with doubt ; but in 1470 we clearly find him at Lisbon — a man of light-gray, kindling eyes, hair of snow at thirty, irritable though affable, blond as any Teuton, simple-mannered yet authoritative in speech, a religious enthusiast who supported himself by pencilling maps and charts ; a meditative cosmographer perpetually brooding over the sinuous lines of his sea-drawings, and providentially haunted by apparitions of land to the west,—the Fortunate Isles, Plato's Atlantis, the Carthaginian Antilla, the bright-tinted Canaries and Azores, the lovely garden of the Hesperides floating and flashing on the curve of the horizon — a poetic maze of truth and error, involving him in feverish disquietude and fed by the family of navigators into which he had married in Portugal.

A passion seized Columbus to know everything that

had been known or written, by ancients or moderns, on geography, and he drew up a sort of creed by which from various points of view he convinced himself, and eventually others, that there must be a western passage to the cities of the Indies. His enthusiasm polarized every piece of corroborative testimony, and made it point straight in the direction of his theory. He convinced himself, from the reports of navigators, the authority of learned writers, and the very nature of things, that land — the over-lapping wing of Asia, stretching far to the east, and voluming out like a vast curtain with a Europe-ward curve — lay beyond the Azores. He was a man of singularly beautiful fancy, erudite in a certain sense withal, with a solemn sort of eloquence that interested people who from regarding him as a visionary guilty of a fixed idea, came to look upon him as an inspired sailor and prophet, and at length even tried to surround him with the halo of a saint. The palaces of Cathay, with roofs of burnished plates of gold, camphire-illuminated ceilings, where the pearly sea-grit was as plentiful as blackberries, and the wealth reported by the great Venetian traveller encrusted every city and highway ; gold dust, ivory, slaves, fantastic minarets, and monstrous idols with blazing jewels for eyes ; all these things danced before his eyes, and he saw in them the means for the realization of his life-long scheme — the recovery of the Holy Land out of the hands of the Saracen.

In 1484 he left Lisbon with his son Diego, exasperated at the faithlessness and vacillation of King João, and made his way painfully to Spain.

Here for seven years (1485-1492) he hung around  
H. S.—20

the Bohemian court of Ferdinand and Isabella, — a court perpetually flitting from point to point according as the exigencies of the Moorish war demanded, — urging his claims, discussing his project at Cordova, and before the doctors of Salamanca, refuting the Biblical and patristic texts with which they assailed him to prove the impossibility of a western continent, following the court like a faithful hound into the very heart of the Moorish dominions ; pointed at by the very children as a madman, ridiculed for his notion of an antipodes where they said men must needs walk heels upward, trees grow into, instead of out of the earth, rain and snow shoot out of the soil skyward, and the very roundity of the earth would make a mountain barrier, up which no ship could sail.

There were many people, however — not doctors of Salamanca or cavaliers of Cordova — who were struck with the grandeur of Columbus's views ; none more so than Juan Perez, the worthy prior of the convent of La Rabida, and the Pinzons, a family of famous navigators living at Palos on the sea.

By their help he ultimately overcame the distrust of the suspicious Ferdinand, gained access to the sovereigns, wrung from them by his perseverance, the titles of admiral and viceroy over the countries he should discover, and owner of one-tenth of all gains thence accruing, and even inspired the heroic Isabella to declare "that she undertook the enterprise for her own crown of Castile, and pledged her jewels to raise the necessary funds."

The gracious queen — in marked opposition to the short-sighted king — thus became the patroness of the noblest expedition ever planned ; and it is said the



**BANKS OF THE DARRO. (GRANADA.)**

# THE KING ALFRED THE GREAT

same pen that signed the capitulation of Granada in 1492, virtually signed the agreement of the sovereigns to Columbus's stipulation the same year.

The funds for the expedition came temporarily out of the treasury of Aragon, though the glory and aggrandizement arising from it redound to the memory of the enlightened Isabella of Castile.

Columbus was fifty-six — he had been a suppliant for eighteen years — at this triumphant moment of his life, — triumphant, indeed, when we consider with what slight means he was to achieve his enterprise.

The Santa Maria, the Pinta, and the Niña — quaint, high-pooed, forecastled structures, two of them open-decked and one with lateen sails — glided out of the little port of Palos with the “high-admiral of the Ocean sea” and one hundred and twenty souls aboard, in August, 1492; and cleaving the Gibraltar seas, sped southwesterly toward the Peak of Teneriffe and the Canaries. Martin Alonzo Pinzon and his brothers, Francisco and Vicente Yañez, accompanied him.

Land!

Columbus himself had won the ten thousand maravedis promised to him who should first see land; for on the night of Friday, October 11th, 1492, he had beheld lights glimmering at a great distance, and the next morning the weary navigators threw themselves on their knees with passionate tears of thanksgiving, and called the land San Salvador.

Columbus lived and died in the illusion that it was the outspurs of India that he had discovered — whence the name given to the aborigines; and throughout the varied experience of his four voyages he persisted in the belief.

His fortunate miscalculation of the circumference of the globe, making him think that it was one-eighth smaller than it really was, drew him on with the hope that he should immediately see land. To keep up the spirits of his crews, he kept two reckonings, one for himself, with the true distances traversed from day to day, and the other altered, and intended to deceive his companions into the belief that they were not so far from their native land as was actually the case. The discovery of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, the Pearl Islands, the mainland of South America and Central America, rapidly followed, the glory being left to Sebastian Cabot of discovering and coasting North America in the year 1497.

Hoodwinked with his theories, Columbus wasted precious time and many lives in tracing and retracing his steps through the intricacies of the Caribbean archipelago, searching for the continent of Asia, the outlying evidences of Asiatic civilization, and an opportunity to avail himself of the Hebrew and Arabic interpreters whom he had brought with him to communicate with the inhabitants of the New World.

To the apprehension of the simple islanders Columbus's ships had shot out of the crystal firmament; the mariners were the children of the sun, beauteous-haired, from the burning East whence salvation was to come; thunder and lightning flashed out of the rods they held in their hands; they were luminous intelligences, not beardless, naked, tattooed like themselves or living on cassava-bread, yuca root, and fruits, but fair spirits that lavished on them hawk's bells, strings of crystal made in the skies, and cloths colored like the lawn. They ran after the Spaniards and worshipped

them as supernatural beings, treated them with gentle benignity, and gave them their ornaments of gold with affecting readiness.

The announcement of these discoveries made a profound sensation in Spain. Rumors of the golden islands, of the marvellous sun-colored birds, of fish with scales that flashed like precious stones, of thousand-tinted dolphins, of forests of spice-woods sparkling with the winged radiance of the humming-bird, the blood-red flamingo, the sapphire-sharded insect life of the tropics, of regions where the birds and crickets sang all night, and the hurricanes cast ashore multitudes of lustrous shells—spread all over Spain, and made Columbus's journey through the country, on his return, a triumphal procession.

More precious, however, than any cinnamon, nutmeg, or rhubarb, that they were ever in search of, were the potato-plant, the Indian corn, the sweet pepper, the intoxicating tobacco, the strange fruits of this populous island-studded archipelago. "The infinity of great and green trees" excited the admiration of the admiral, and he told his royal auditors of how the natives had canoes, made out of the trunk of a single tree, capable of holding one hundred and fifty persons; of the beauty of the tropical vegetation; of the perfectly naked women with rings in their noses; of the easy rule of the Indian caciques; of the multitudes of fish, turtle, and game, found everywhere; of the grace and princeliness of many of the native sovereigns; of the caressing hospitality they met with; of the mystic mermaiden they had seen on their way home; the fierce Caribs they had encountered; and their eventual arrival in Portugal,

after planting the colony of La Navidad in the New World.

The whole of Europe soon rang with these thrilling stories. The germ of the mighty India House of Spain was planted at Seville. Isabella's compassionate heart interested itself in the spiritual welfare of the poor Indians. Columbus was more than confirmed in all his powers and privileges. The difficulties between Spain and Portugal, relative to their mutual rights in the Atlantic, were settled in 1494 on the basis that a line should be drawn from pole to pole, three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verde islands, and that Spain should have a right to all discoveries made west of this line, and Portugal to those made east of it.

In 1493 Columbus sailed anew; discovered the beautiful semi-circle of the Antilles inhabited by the Caribs; thoroughly explored Hispaniola, where hardly a trace of the colony left could be found; gathered specimens of amber, lapis-lazuli, jasper, and gold-dust; heard of the melon, gourd, and cucumber seed which he had planted, bearing fruit within a month; coasted Cuba carefully (1494), and discovered Jamaica.

The air here was filled with the living sparkles of innumerable butterflies; ponderous clusters of grapes clung to the giant grape vines; tortoises thronged the low keys and reefs of the milky waters south of Cuba; cranes stood drawn up in solemn array among the forests, and filled the superstitious Spaniards with affright; the tree clefts were full of honey; the islands shot forth fragrances to delight their senses; and they saw the natives catching fish and tortoises by means of the sucker-fish, which, tied by the tail to a long string, was

said to dart fiercely on its prey and attach itself until forced to relinquish it by being drawn out of the water.

Colonization sprang up swiftly in the footsteps of Columbus. He had waved his enchanter's wand, and the gates of a New World seemed to fly open for all the restless blood then in Europe to discharge itself through.

In 1498 he undertook his third voyage with a squadron of six ships and sailed through the gulf of Paria, where he found mangrove trees clustered with oysters, their mouths open, according to the legend, ready to catch the dew, afterward to be transformed into pearls. He encountered the huge volume of fresh water pouring forth from the great Orinoco, and speculated ingeniously about it. On his arrival at Hispaniola he found the whole island in confusion.—Everywhere through his voyages he encountered mutinies, rebellion, opposition, threats of assassination, and untold sufferings from shipwreck, ill-health, desertion, and shameless tittle-tattle; but succored by his brothers, Don Diego and the Adelantado Don Bartholomew, and sustained by his own indomitable spirit, he was enabled to endure even the last indignity of being sent home in irons by Bobadilla at the conclusion of his third voyage, to answer charges brought against him by his enemies in Castile.

His benefactress always welcomed him kindly, but Ferdinand lent a willing ear to gossip, and humiliated Columbus as he had humiliated the great Gonsalvo.

In 1497 Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and three years later Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, sailing in the interest of Portugal to Calicut, took possession of Brazil, discovered earlier the same year, by

Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Diego Lepe, in the name of Portugal, because the land lay eastward of the line agreed upon by the two powers, as the boundary of their respective discoveries.

In this way Brazil came to belong to Portugal. Vicente Pinzon was the first European who crossed the western equinoctial line, though Gama in his expedition of 1497, immortalized in the *Lusiadas* of Camoens, must first have observed the constellation of the Southern Cross, which became at once the symbol of faith, and the lode-star of the southern hemisphere.

Columbus in 1502, departed at the age of sixty-seven, on his fourth voyage, full of infirmities, often racked by pain, broken down in health, but invincibly bent on further extending the discoveries he had begun. He had nobly vindicated himself from the charges of Bobadilla and now ventured out for the last time, in four barks of from fifty to seventy tons each, in search of a strait through the Isthmus of Darien. He coasted Honduras, the Mosquito coast, Costa Rica, in ships honeycombed by the *teredo*; fancied the mines of Veragua to be the Aurea Chersonesus of Josephus; and was finally stranded on the island of Jamaica, where twelve months of anxiety, hunger, thirst, and disease were spent.

In Hispaniola hundreds of thousands of the natives had perished by disease, massacre, or the bloodhound, during the first twelve years of colonization. From visitors from heaven the Spaniards had soon transformed themselves into demons from hell. Licentiousness, torture, extortion, the fatal *repartimiento* or distribution of the natives among the ruffians of the colony, did their work but too effectually, and changed these



A GRANADA TYPE.

# TO MY JOURNAL

lovely islands into dens of lasciviousness and death. From the beginning, a curse lay on the Latin conquests in the New World; conquests accomplished by perfidy, cruelty, and lust.

The old navigator passed away in 1506; Columbus died as he had lived, a devout Catholic, and his ashes, deposited at first in Valladolid, then in Seville, passed over to San Domingo in 1536 whence, in 1796, — as has been lately established by the Spanish Royal Academy of History, — they were transported to Havana.

Thus ended the career of the great poet and discoverer — perhaps so great a discoverer because so richly endowed with the prophetic instinct, the enthusiasm, the imaginative vision of the poet.

Columbus's companions soon greatly developed and extended his discoveries. It was a time "fulfilled with fairy;" the attraction toward unknown lands was irresistible.

Vicente Pinzon discovered the La Plata river in 1508; a year signalized by the importation of negroes into Hayti (Hispaniola) from Guinea. In 1511, Diego Columbus effected the conquest of Cuba, and in 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, crossing the Isthmus with dauntless intrepidity, cast eyes for the first time on the enormous sheet of the Pacific ocean.

Ponce de Leon, an aged Castilian knight, having heard of a land to the far northwest, where tradition said there was a fountain of perpetual youth, sailed thitherward, and coming on a beautifully sunny, and flowery coast, dubbed it, after the day (Pascua Florida, Palm Sunday) on which it was discovered, Florida.

There seemed to be enterprises, discoveries, con-

quests, for everybody in those happy times. The beginning of the reign of Charles V. was illustrated by the discovery (1518) of the coast of Mexico, and some years later of Peru. In 1521, Magellan, sailing under the Spanish flag, circumnavigated South America, and passing from island to island, came upon another archipelago of twelve hundred islands, to which the name of Philippine islands, in honor of Philip II., was afterwards given — an archipelago more than thirteen hundred miles in length and eight hundred in breadth, a replica of the exquisite picturesqueness and fertility of the Caribbean group. Volcanoes, earthquakes, hurricanes, are the scourge of these sunlit latitudes, whose prodigious wealth in tropical fruits, ebony, sandal-wood, spices, dyes, silver, sulphur, and gold, whose unrivalled scenery and luxuriance, whose gorgeous coloring, population of Papuas, Malays, Chinese and Spaniards, and superstitions, have ever since offered so great attractions to the merchant, artist, and ethnologist.

The subjugation of the Mexican and Peruvian empires was an achievement worthy of an heroic age. There is perhaps nothing in fabulous story — in Iliad or in Nibelungenlied — which quite equals the deeds of Hernando Cortés and Francisco Pizarro — the one a student of Salamanca, the other so ignorant that he could neither read nor write his own name.

Cortés's commentaries on his campaigns have been likened to Cæsar's; Pizarro's dispatches read like a romance. Cortés's achievement was the more remarkable of the two, since it was original with himself and occurred against odds so overwhelming. Pizarro modelled himself distinctly after Cortés, even to the very

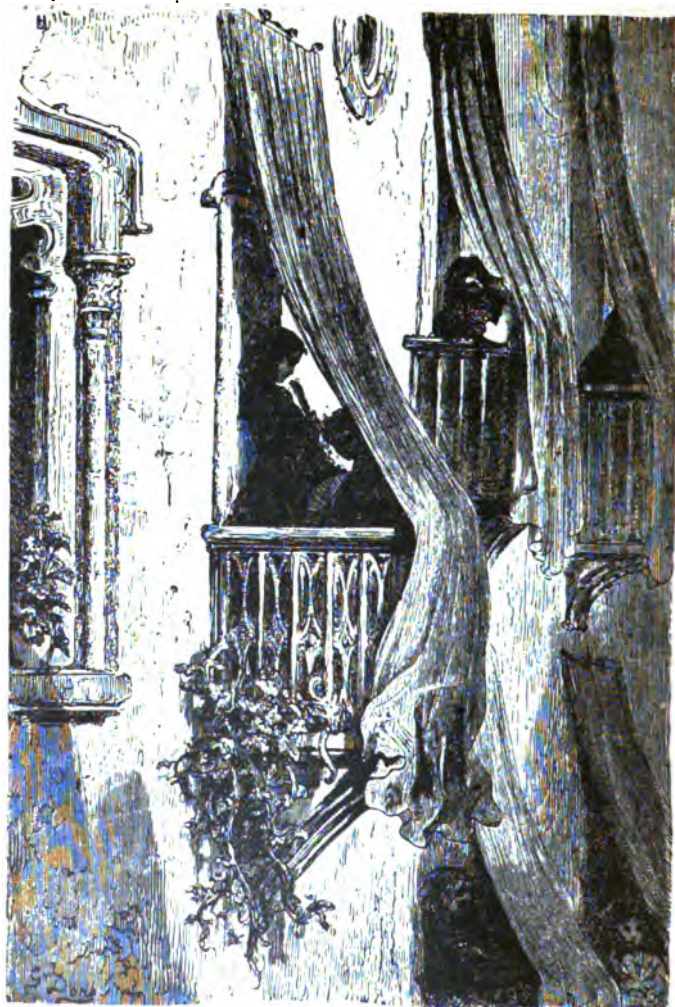
stratagem by which the empire of the Incas at one blow sank in ruins. Here the parallelism ceases, for Cortés was a man of genius, reconstructing what he had destroyed, legislating serenely and successfully amid intense excitement, renovating, consolidating, laying the foundations of a great empire again, and commanding admiration for the many elements of nobility, heroism, unselfishness, and administrative skill displayed in his character. Pizarro though a man of marked ability, was essentially a ruffian by birth, a foundling from an obscure village in Estremadura, who died by the hand of the assassin in the great country he had conquered. The timid, caste-ridden, enervated Peruvians, too, were very different from the implacable Aztecs, the sanguinary Tlascalans, and the acute Tezcucans, who hurled their thousands against Cortés's little band, and struggled impotently to cast them back into the sea.

The Mexico of the Aztecs was said to have covered an area of nearly fifty thousand square miles, though the part with which we are immediately concerned—the lake district—filled an area of only about sixteen hundred square miles, the size of Rhode Island. Whether the inhabitants of the Western continent were aboriginal; whether they came by Behring's straits from the Asiatic coast, or crossed hundreds of leagues of sea as they journeyed from island to island of the Pacific, and finally landed in the American country, or whether an "Atlantis," now submerged, really existed in the Atlantic, whence they made their way from Europe laboriously thitherwards, in prehistoric times, are at present subjects for ingenious though fruitless speculation.

The country of Mexico, like Spain itself, is a system of gigantic terraces, rising from the gulf to an extensive tableland from five thousand to eight thousand feet above the sea, and culminating in the cones of Orizaba and Popocatepetl, which almost cast their shadows over the city of Mexico. Beneath these mighty volcanoes—which tower more than three miles above the sea—lay a system of lakes about which had gathered a population of some two hundred and fifty thousand souls, cultivated to a point that recalls much of what we know of ancient Egypt and Assyria. (Cortés frequently gives what he saw, the palm of superiority over what was then to be seen in contemporary Europe.) The naked islanders of the archipelago were here replaced by a well-organized confederacy of races composed of the descendants of seven tribes from the north, and as far as is known, without communication with the other great sovereignty of the south. They possessed a considerable degree of culture when Cortés, commanding the Armada dispatched by Velasquez, governor of Cuba, arrived in the country in 1519. Dwelling high above the fever-smitten swamps of the Warm Land, as the Atlantic coast was called, they were a race bold, hardy, and persevering; a hive of nations—Toltecs, Chichimecs, Aztecs or Mexicans, and Acolhuans—succeeding or conquering one another, variously gifted, and busy with the arts of an almost civilized community.

It will be impossible to enter into their feuds, traditions and coalitions before the conquest, therefore only a condensed sketch of characteristic customs and peculiarities will be attempted.

1920



BALCONIES AT GRANADA.

Entirely false notions have hitherto prevailed with regard to the Aztec community, now fortunately almost entirely removed by the valuable researches of Morgan\* and Bandelier.† These researches have shown incontrovertibly that in a European sense there was neither a state, a nation, nor a political society of any kind in aboriginal Mexico. The Spaniards found there a varied population, divided into tribes speaking various languages, each tribe autonomous in matters of government, and occasionally forming confederacies for purposes of self-defence and conquest. The ancient Mexicans as typical of this aboriginal constitution, have been shown to be an organic body, composed of twenty consanguine groups or kins, voluntarily associated for purposes of mutual protection and subsistence. This social organization, so far from exhibiting the complex conditions of a feudal state, as it appeared to the excited Spaniards, and as it is described in the current histories, was a democratic body; each of the kins was governed by its own strictly elective officers subject to removal at the pleasure of their constituents; the associated kins, for their mutual benefit, had delegated their powers to transact business without to a council of the tribe, in which each consanguine group or kin was represented by one member; the execution of the decrees of this council was left to elective officers, whose powers were limited to military command, and whom the tribe might depose at

\*Ancient Society, pp. 186-214.

† Social Organization and Mode of Government, Art of Warfare and Mode of Warfare, and Distribution and Tenure of lands of the Ancient Mexicans; three extremely important treatises published in 1877, '78 and '79 by the American Archæological Association.

pleasure ; these officers with the exception of certain inferior positions, could not appoint others to office, not even their assistants of high rank ; the dignity of chief, such as Montezuma held, so far from being the prerogative of hereditary nobility, was simply a reward of merit, carrying with it no other privileges than personal consideration and a more or less distinctive costume ; and the final result of the last scrutiny into Mexican "civilization" is, that it was the result of a social organization based upon a military democracy, itself originally based upon community of living, and consanguineous relationship.

Such conclusions, of course, entirely overthrow the fictitious "elective monarchy" of the English and Spanish historians ; the terminology of feudal Europe was unhappily applied to the misunderstood League of the Lake ; and a so-called "Kingdom of Mexico" and "Empire of the Aztecs" was the result.

Cortés found in the valley of Mexico the famous Nahuatl confederacy, composed of the three tribes called Aztecs or Mexicans, Tezcucans, and Tlacopans. The Aztecs were one of seven kindred tribes from the north that had settled in and near the valley of Mexico. These seven tribes were, 1. the Sochimilcas, or Nation of the Seeds of Flowers ; 2. the Chalcas, or People of Mouths ; 3. the Tepanecans, or People of the Bridge ; 4. the Culhuas, or Crooked People ; 5. the Tlatluicans, or Men of the Sierra ; 6. the Tlascalans, or Men of Bread ; and 7. the Aztecs, who came last and occupied the site of the present city of Mexico. They founded the celebrated *pueblo* of Mexico about A. D. 1325, which is supposed to have contained about thirty thousand inhabitants at the time of the arrival of Cortés.

In 1426 the Aztec confederacy, composed of the Aztecs and the overthrown Tezcucans and Tlacopans, was formed; a league or confederacy of offence and defence, with the Aztecs at the head.

Several points of great interest have been settled as to certain features of aboriginal life in ancient Mexico. It is now known that the ancient Mexicans, and presumably their tribal kindred, had no notion of abstract ownership of the soil either by a nation, or state, the head of the government or by individuals.

As each tribe had as its unit of organization, the consanguine groups or kins before-mentioned, so possessory rights were vested in them as a community, with no conception of sale, barter, conveyance or alienation of any kind. Individuals had only the right to use certain definite lots for their maintenance, a right hereditary in the male line, yet limited to the conditions of residence within the area held by the kin, and of cultivation either by or in the name of him to whom these lots were assigned. Neither Montezuma nor any of his chieftains or officers had property rights individually, except as he belonged to a certain kin, when he had the use of a certain lot which could be rented or farmed for his benefit. There were certain lots set aside as official lands, out of which public hospitality, the requirements of tribal business, the governmental features of the kin, and the official households were supplied and sustained; but both the lands and their products were independent of the persons or families of the chiefs themselves.

Again, the conquest of a neighboring tribe by the Mexicans, was not followed by territorial annexation or

by distribution of its lands among the conquerors. The Mexicans simply exacted tribute, which was paid from the produce of special lands set aside for that purpose. And finally neither a military despotism nor the principle and institution of feudality existed among the aboriginal Mexicans.

The *pueblo* of Mexico was divided into four wards, constituted out of four groups of related people, each autonomous and each with its own chief and its own communal organization. Montezuma was simply the elective war-chief of the four wards, his election was sanctioned by the confederated tribes, and he had associated with him a dignitary called the "Snake woman," or supreme advisor of the tribe. The Mexicans had neither invented nor developed monarchical institutions. Montezuma's title was Teuctli, or war chief; in the council of chiefs, elected by bodies of kindred to advise with him, he was sometimes called Tlatoani, or speaker. In other words, he was neither king nor emperor, but simply general. The office held by him was hereditary in a *gens*, was given by the *gens* to the worthiest brother or nephew of a dead chief, was ratified by the four divisions or phratries of the Aztecs, and then by the Tezcucans and Tlacopans acting through their representatives. The magniloquence of the Spaniards made of him an absolute potentate.

A judicial system existed; murder, adultery, bribery, stealing, drunkenness, and extravagance were punishable with death. Polygamy and slavery flourished. Taxes were laid on all objects of luxury. Granaries and warehouses for the reception of the tributes dotted the country. Couriers, trained to travel with great

swiftness, carried hieroglyphical letters from one end of the country to the other. Montezuma, it is said, though he lived two hundred miles from the coast, had fish from the gulf on his table, twenty-four hours after they were caught. The wars of the aborigines were largely religious; they had insignia of honor for those who distinguished themselves; they used feather armor; cuirasses of gold or silver; and gorgeous tribal standards embroidered in gold and feather-work; and their military organization though complicated, was free.

The religion of the Mexicans required human sacrifices eighteen times a year, attended by cannibalism; deities in profusion formed their hierarchy, with a fantastic and sanguinary monster, Huitzilopotchli, Humming-bird-on-the-left-foot, the God of war, at the head. Quetzalcoatl, a beneficent God, who taught them metal-work, agriculture, and the science of government, and who typified the Anahuac golden age, counter-balanced this bloody deity. The people had mystical expectations connected with the east, out of which their benevolent deity was to come again and bring back the "Saturnia regna" of ancient times. Everlasting darkness, eternal light, and a neutral limbo of negative contentment for those who had died of certain diseases, formed a cluster of beliefs connected with their notions of immortality curiously recalling the system of Mahomet. The sun was the luminary around which the spirits of the blest danced; then clouds and bright-plumaged singing birds received them in a perpetual intoxication of sense. At the naming of children, a ceremony resembling baptism took place. Their religious observances were imposing; numbers of priests

ministered at the fire-crowned temples, which, rising in pyramidal terraces, approached the Egyptian pyramids in form and magnitude. The temples were great schools where the youth were educated ; the priests could marry, though they had to practise great austerity at certain seasons. Rites resembling confession and absolution formed a part of their ritual. Large tracts of land supported the church establishment. Singing and dancing alternated in their ceremonial with horrible mutilation of hecatombs of human victims, whose hearts were torn out, and in some cases, it is said, were cast in thousands smoking on the altars of sacrifice. Along with this went a singular refinement in their love of flowers.

The Aztec system of hieroglyphics—the key to which is now unfortunately lost—showed considerable ingenuity and culture. With some of these hieroglyphics were associated phonetic signs, though their employers seem to have laid most stress on actual pictorial representation of the object described. Laws, tribute-rolls, calendars, rituals, political annals, chronological systems, were claimed to be stored up in these hieroglyphics, which were swiftly and skilfully painted on cotton cloth, skins, aloe-paper or a composition of silk and gum. Spanish superstition and abhorrence of necromancy caused the destruction of the greater part of these invaluable records—for they associated devilish arts and demoniacal devices with the characters in which these “manuscripts” were written. Thus, probably, have hopelessly perished nearly all the traces of the literature of these nations, if they had one.

They excelled in jugglery and physical sleight ; but

their attainments in mathematics give them a claim to recognition as rivals, in a certain sense, of the Europeans. They seem to have had methods of indicating square and cube roots, fractions, and integers, little inferior to those used by the great mathematicians of antiquity before the Arabic ciphers were introduced. Their astronomical system was exact, and it was found on the arrival of the Spaniards that their method of computing time was eleven days nearer the true time than that of their conquerors.

Their year consisted of eighteen months, of twenty days each, with five intercalary days to make up the three hundred and sixty-five, and at intervals of fifty-two years they added twelve days and a half to account for the annual excess of nearly six hours in the calendar. It is said that they came within an inappreciable fraction of the exact length of the tropical year as established by the most accurate observations.

They were acquainted with the cause of eclipses and with the use of the sun-dial ; adjusted their festivals by the movements of the heavenly bodies ; and kindled their sacred fires anew every fifty-two years by the friction of sticks placed on the wounded breast of sacrificial victims.

The Aztec husbandry evinced much intelligence, for it alternated years in the crops, irrigated, cherished forestry, and stored up harvests in granaries. The banana, the chocolate-plant, and the maize were cultivated. They made sugar out of the Indian-corn stalks, intoxicating drinks out of grain and the aloe-plant, and maintained semblances of zoölogical and botanical gardens. Their curious and fantastically carved emeralds and amethysts ; their metal-work in gold and silver, their

knives, razors, and sword-blades of obsidian; their sculptured images, bas-reliefs, and calendar-stone; their painted cups and vases, mineral and vegetable dye-stuffs, and brilliant-colored woven tissues of cotton, rabbit-hair, and feather-work, all showed much knowledge of the mechanical arts.

They had great market-places where trade and traffic, by barter and by a sort of currency, were carried on with strict justice. Transparent quills of gold-dust; T-shaped bits of tin, and grains of cacao in bags constituted their money. Of iron they had no knowledge. The cities were divided among the various trade-guilds; the life of the merchant-spy was esteemed highly honorable; and slave-dealing had no disgrace attached to it.

The domestic manners of the Aztecs were rather refined. The official classes were said to dine in communal halls among odoriferous herbs (performing their ablutions before and after meals). Perfumed tobacco, smoked in tortoise-shell or silver tubes, was esteemed a great after-dinner luxury; and their tables were loaded with rude gold and silver vases and dishes, in which a variety of barbaric spiced viands, "pastry" and "confectionery" was served. (Morgan,\* however, in his discussion of "Montezuma's Dinner," has sufficiently shown that we must not place too implicit confidence in the swelling descriptions of Spanish adventurers on this point.) Dancing, singing of plaintive legendary ballads, and instrumental music closed their entertainments.

Such is a silhouette of the so-called empire of Montezuma.

\* North American Review, April, 1877.

Cortés, had he not burnt his ships, allied himself with the fierce republic of Tlascala, which was the deadly foe of Montezuma, and taken advantage of the discords then rending this powerful democracy, would never have succeeded in his perilous undertaking. His two masterstrokes — the conciliation of the Tlascalans and the seizure of Montezuma — aided by his horses and fire-arms, which inspired dread ; by accomplished sub-alterns like Sandóval and Alvarado ; and by his own cheerful and dauntless pluck — enabled him with a few hundred Spaniards and many thousand Tlascalans to overrun the country in about two years (1519-1521).

This is no place to enter into the details of the horrors accompanying the conquest, the gloom of the *Noche Triste* so famous for its disaster to the Spaniards, when they were driven out of the city, the siege of Mexico, and the beautiful and touching episode of Montezuma's captivity and death. Every outrage that could be committed was committed by the conquerors despite the enlightened policy of their commander, which was to conciliate rather than to irritate. Perhaps there is no siege recorded in history more unparalleled than the siege of the city of Mexico ; and certainly, few characters more heroic than that of the unfortunate Guatemozin.

Cortés extended his reputation afterward by the discovery of the gulf of California in 1537.

The conquest of the empire of the Incas in 1531, in little more than a year, was an achievement second only to the conquest of Mexico, in glory and in far-reaching results. Balboa's great discovery — swiftly followed as it was by his tragical death — remained

unutilized nearly twenty years. In 1519 the city of Panama was founded on the Pacific side of the isthmus, and from that time, rumors of a mighty empire to the south filled the air and roused the Spanish imagination, already exalted by the wonderful events in Mexico, to realize its dreams in further explorations.

But it was not until 1526 that the celebrated contract for the conquest of Peru was signed by the two adventurers, Pizarro and Almagro, and the ecclesiastic De Luque, by whom chiefly, with little aid from the Spanish government, this memorable enterprise was effected. Several preliminary expeditions, pregnant with disaster, suffering, and final success, were undertaken by these men, who rambled with their soldiers through impenetrable forests, encountered starvation, tempest, and death by sea and by land, and at length, sailing into serener latitudes, came suddenly upon the fairy-land of the brilliant Incas, and stood, as it were, enthralled before an opulence and culture hitherto unimagined. Another problematic civilization sprang up before them, remote from all association, hedged in by boundless forests on the one side, and by boundless seas on the other, characterized by a refinement, splendor, and orderliness, superior in many respects to the Aztec. The immediate wealth flowing from this conquest was much greater than that produced by the conquest of Mexico; and from this time on the mines of Peru began to pour that silver torrent into the coffers of Spain which seemed inexhaustible.

This great empire extended north and south through thirty-nine degrees of latitude, embracing probably the states which are now known as Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chili. The country is traversed by the enormous

backbone of the Cordilleras. It was covered with towns and villages; *llamas* innumerable—the sheep of the country — wandered over its heights ; gardens, settlements, farms, nestled among the terraces and precipices of the stupendous volcanoes. The natives were found to be under the rule of *Incas* or lords, who traced their descent from the sun. Cuzco was the royal residence ; a city situated in a beautiful valley, filled with solid structures of every description, squares, public places, above all, the noble temple of the sun blazing with gold and jewels. Powerful fortresses were scattered through the country, built of enormous stones adjusted with skill.

The succession in this empire was hereditary, and the queen was at once sister and wife to the Inca. Military schools were maintained, where the youth were carefully educated in all warlike and manly exercises.

The “Children of the Sun” among them, were distinguished by huge pendants of gold hung from the ear, which stretched the lobe to such an extent that it became a frightful disfigurement. The ceremonies by which members of the royal family were, as it were, authenticated and recognized as belonging to the Inca race, closely resembled those attending the initiation of Christian knights in the feudal ages.

The government was despotic ; the Inca wore a dress radiant with gold and precious stones, a wreathed turban of many-colored folds, and plumes. Blazing with emeralds and ornaments he was borne in his solemn progresses through the kingdom in a litter, on the shoulders of men. There were magnificent roads extending from one end of the kingdom to the other, along which inns were established for halting-places.

Immense palaces at various points in his dominions, received the monarch in his many journeys — structures of stone, with roofs of wood or rushes, gorgeously decorated within with images of animals and plants wrought in gold and silver, utensils of the same, and hangings of exquisite texture and color, made of the delicate Peruvian wool.

We are told of subterranean channels of silver bearing water into basins of gold for the baths of the Incas ; groves and gardens filled with countless plants and flowers ; parterres of vegetable products skilfully imitated in the precious metals ; palaces in the cool Sierras recalling all that we have read in Ariosto or Spenser.

At the death of the Inca, palaces, furniture, apparel, treasures, all were left to decay in strange ruin. Human blood flowed in torrents on his tomb ; his disembowelled remains were embalmed, and, arrayed in splendid attire, were placed in a golden chair and deposited in the great temple of the sun at Cuzco.

The nobility had a distinguishing dress, dialect, and prerogative. The priests and generals came from their order. They were nearly all more or less related to the Inca blood, and hence gave to the royal family great strength and stability by their support.

The nation called itself "the four quarters of the world," the name Peru or "river" having been given by the Spaniards, it is said, through a mistake. Hence the capital and the kingdom were in the same manner divided into four parts.

A complicated social organization existed, suggestive of a peculiar and original people. The provisions for justice were as elaborate as among the Mexicans. Se-



TOMB OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GRANADA.

1919  
1920  
1921

vere laws, repressed crime. The Sun, the Inca, and the people divided the territory equally among them. The multitudinous priesthood and the costly ceremonial of the religious establishment, absorbed much both of land and treasure. The household, kindred, and government of the Inca likewise involved great expenditure. The soil put aside for the people was annually re-distributed in certain allotments, on the basis of an increased or diminished family, so that every man had a portion of the soil and became virtually its proprietor for life. The Sun lands and the Inca's lands were first cultivated by the people ; then the lands belonging to the infirm and the widows ; then their own lands. Agriculture was diligently attended to, and the numerous flocks of *llamas* were nurtured with sagacity. The spinning and weaving were all done by the families, who received due portions of wool to be wrought up for themselves and for the Incas.

Registers of births and deaths were kept ; the census was taken ; surveys of the lands with their mineral and agricultural resources made ; and different provinces were assigned to different industries — mining, metal-working, and the like. Huge magazines of stone received and stored up the surplus products — maize, coca, wool, cotton, copper, silver, and gold. Mendicancy was forbidden ; public charity was generously shown the sick and unfortunate ; and idleness was a crime. Poverty and wealth seemed equally banished from this remarkable realm, whose guiding principle was passive obedience to the sway of the divinely-descended ruler.

The country abounded in great public works — aque-

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ducts, roads, fortresses, temples, palaces, and terraces — whose ruins to-day excite admiration for their grandeur and massiveness. Suspension-bridges were thrown across the rivers and vast engineering difficulties surmounted in the construction of the great road which was said to be over fifteen hundred miles long, from twelve to twenty feet wide, flagged with freestone, and supported on solid masonry, where masonry was necessary. Another road traversed the region between the ocean and the Andes, which was parapeted, lined by shade-trees, crossed causeways, threw light suspension-bridges woven of cables of aloë-fibre over rivers and streams, and was bordered every twelve miles by inns. Humboldt was justified in saying that the ruins of this great road might for beauty be compared with the finest he had seen in Italy, France, or Spain, and was one of the most useful as well as stupendous works ever constructed by the hand of man.

Posts for communication with various parts of the empire existed, at intervals of five miles, along the great roads, and dispatches forwarded by couriers dressed in livery, could be sent a distance of a hundred and fifty miles a day. Connected with this was a package-post for game, fruit, fish, and the necessaries and luxuries of life, chiefly for the benefit of the nobles. Hence the ease with which news could be brought, insurrectionary movements crushed, and troops concentrated in any part of the empire, on short notice.

A force of two hundred thousand men, armed with bows and arrows, slings, lances, darts, short-swords and battle-axes, dressed in the costumes peculiar to each province, headed by the brilliant-plumed, sparkling-

casqued Inca generals, and overshadowed by the refugent device of the rainbow, could be readily brought into the field—more closely resembling a resplendent procession winding among the defiles of the Andes, than an army terrible with banners.

Clemency was characteristic of the Inca conquerors ; religious toleration was recognized among them—provided that their great luminary-god were acknowledged as supreme ; the conquered princes were removed to the capital and their people admitted into a sort of citizenship ; they were compelled to learn the *Quichua* language, which was the language of the court and capital ; and in cases of doubtful loyalty the inhabitants of conquered provinces were removed in thousands to other parts of the empire, and their place supplied by loyal citizens. Residence could not be changed without license ; and in the case of compulsory removal, a congenial climate was selected for the emigrants.

History presents few examples of a nation so consolidated and systematized, so controlled from the germ by a sagacious and harmonious principle, so logically developed by the policy of successive Incas. A common religion, a common language, and a common government thus resulted in no jangling confederation of jarring nationalities, but in a powerful, homogeneous, and civilized community habituated to obedience and attached to its own institutions.

Religion was never more pompously enshrined than in the Peruvian "Houses of the Sun," especially in the renowned temple of Cuzco. A massive, sunlike, golden plate of enormous dimensions was said to catch the morning sun before the eastern portal, and scat-

ter it in innumerable rays before the temple. The interior of the temple was one effulgence of gold and precious stones—golden friezes, cornices, walls, and ceilings. A chapel dedicated to the moon, lustrous with the pearly radiance of burnished silver, contrasted in its silvery spirituality with the golden glory prodigally claimed by the sun.

An island in Lake Titicaca contained the most venerated of these sun-temples; for hence proceeded, said tradition, the founders of the Peruvian line, and here the ancient monuments of their civilization are still to be seen in part. The sun, moon, and stars, the thunder, lightning, and rainbow, were the peculiar objects of adoration.

We are told that the great vases of Indian corn, the perfume-censers, the ewers and pipes connected with the great temple were of gold, while the gardens sparkled with flowers and golden-fleeced *llamas* of the same costly material.

The festivals and national solemnities were conducted with barbaric pomp. Cannibalism was suppressed and human sacrifices lessened in numbers by the Incas. They used concave mirrors for kindling their sacred fire, which was then cherished by the Virgins of the Sun, an institution analogous to that of the Roman Catholic nuns or the Vestals of antiquity. These virgins lived in nunneries, and were destined not to eternal celibacy, but, as brides of the sun, became concubines of the Inca.

Schools existed; language, laws, religious rites, and rudimentary science were taught; and records were kept in the peculiar hieroglyphic system, called *quipu*.



LANDING OF COLUMBUS IN THE NEW WORLD.  
(CUADRO DE PUEBLA ) AFTER A PAINTING BY PUEBLA.

THE  
JANUARY  
REVOLUTION

Cords of many-colored threads twisted together, with pendant fringes of white, yellow, red, and vari-tinted threads, knotted in an arbitrary manner, constituted the fundamental basis of this system, the chief value of which was for arithmetical purposes, for calculating revenues, keeping registers, and recording annals; each knot, as has been said, suggesting to the skilled, a train of associations similar to that suggested by the number attached to the commandments of the decalogue.

The Peruvians had legendary poetry, ballads, and a sort of theatrical exhibitions more or less dramatic. They were geographers to some extent, constructed maps, divided the year into twelve lunar months, took azimuths by measuring the shadows of cylindrical columns, and determined the equinoxes by a pillar set in the centre of a circle within the great temple, divided by a line drawn from east to west. Altar-fires blazed to the planet Venus; diviners dabbled in astrology; eclipses were viewed with affright.

Tunnels, canals for irrigating purposes, and the abundant use of *guano* in their field culture, showed their skill and foresight in overcoming the obstacles of nature. As in Mexico, the greatest variety of climate and products existed, from the sun-bathed plains swimming in the incandescent atmosphere of the sea-level, through the mellowing humidity of the middle regions, up to those irradiated cones which, armored in adamantine ice, tower into dazzling altitudes and shoot flame and sunlight from their volcanic sides.

The banana, the maize-plant, the aloe, the tobacco, the narcotic coca for chewing, a sort of rice, and many

shrubs and medicinal herbs, were known to them. They were probably the only American race that employed domestic animals, chiefly the *llamas* and the *alpacas*. Shawls, robes, hangings, of admirable delicacy and durability, showed their aptitude in working up the hair of animals. Bracelets, collars, and vases of gold and silver, elaborately wrought, evinced unusual metallurgical knowledge; mirrors of polished stone or burnished silver; utensils of fine clay and copper; delicate cutting and setting of emeralds without knowledge of iron; sculptured porphyry and granite; extraction of the precious metals without knowledge of quicksilver; ore-smelting, architectural monuments of great extent and magnificence, all give testimony of their superiority in the various arts.

A refined, innocent, orderly people, they stand in the greatest contrast to the ferocious Aztecs. They guarded carefully against famine, invasion, and rebellion; they worshipped the light; they abounded in institutions regarded even by the Spaniards as exerting a favorable influence on the people, and though their system was an inexorable mechanism, all the parts were harmoniously related, and every detail was defined with precision.\*

Such was the nation against which the foundling, the pilot, and the missionary directed their romantic expedition. The story of their dropping down into those silent latitudes—their meeting with the wandering Indians on the passage, their landing at Tumbes, their reception as the children of the Sun by the simple natives,

\* Vid. G. Brühl, "Die Culturvölker Alt-Amerikas," 1877-78-79.

their return to Panama, their final overthrow of this immense sovereignty with about one thousand men in little more than twelve months—is a story which would be characterized as pure fiction, did not undoubted evidence of the undertaking exist in the utmost fulness.

Pizarro's march over the Andes is equal to the most celebrated of Cortés's marches. His seizure and execution of Atahualpa, the powerful Inca of Peru, in the face of a countless army, is paralleled only by what happened in the case of Montezuma. The whole Peruvian organization seemed to dissolve like a breath before the Spanish arms; a handful of hungry cavaliers seemed to brush away instantaneously the whole fabric.

The principal actors in the great drama perished by violent deaths. Almagro and his son, Gonzalo Pizarro and his brother Francisco, Carbajal, Hernando de Soto, Blasco Nuñez the viceroy, Garcia de Alvarado, and the wretched Incas Manco and Atahualpa, were either executed, murdered, or drowned; and Hernando Pizarro languished in a Castilian prison for twenty years.

Four years after the conquest of Peru, Jacques Cartier, a Frenchman, discovered the gulf of St. Lawrence, and Mendoza overran Buenos Ayres as far as Potosi, famous for the silver mines found there nine years later. In 1541 Chili was conquered; Orellana sailed down the Amazon, and Hernando de Soto (like Cortés and the Pizarros, an Estremaduran) discovered the Mississippi, and found a grave in its waters. The great navigators, Drake, Davis, and Frobisher added, by their discoveries, new lustre to the English name, while the Dutch navigators, Van Linschoten, Barendz,

Heemskerk, De Veer, Ryp, Dirk Gerrits, and the Houtmanns, in their search for a passage to Cathay, discovered Spitzbergen, doubled the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, and opened the way for the mighty Dutch East India company, which attached to the Netherlands, by the slender filaments of trade, a series of dependencies that encircled the globe.

Thus had the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans become "Spanish Lakes;" the possessions of Spain in the New World swept the poles, and a gigantic colonial system was built up which lasted down to our day. Mexico, Peru, La Plata, and New Granada became opulent vice-royalties; Yucatan, Guatemala, Chili, Venezuela, and Cuba remained captain-generalcies.

The advent of Joseph Bonaparte in Spain, and the dethronement of Ferdinand VII., produced (we may say in anticipation) revolutions in Spanish America, which resulted in the independence of all the great colonies except Cuba and Porto Rico. The land of the Incás became fully independent in 1824-26; New Granada and Venezuela finally in 1823; Mexico in 1829; and Guatemala in 1823.\*

The Portuguese colony of Brazil was finally established into an independent empire in the year 1822, with Dom Pedro as emperor. The royal family, fearing to fall into the hands of Napoleon, had abandoned the country, and arrived in Brazil in January, 1808. In 1815 Brazil, though still subject to Portugal, was declared an independent kingdom, entitled to its own laws and administration. Its marvellous progress in the last fifty years

\* Vid. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition.

has justified the expectations formed of its splendid future.

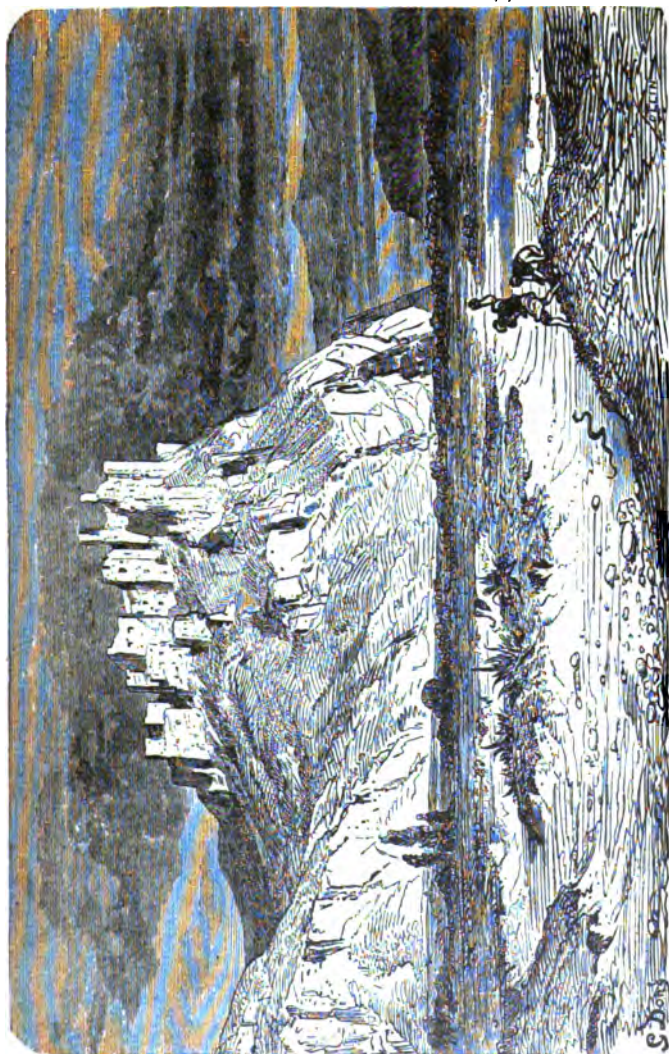
The Spanish navigators had thus, in less than fifty years, made Spain the most magnificent empire on earth. It is no wonder that Charles V. and Philip II. were looked upon as little less than gods, were held in affectionate remembrance as the greatest kings that have ever sat on the throne of Spain, and were regarded as the incarnation of Spanish greatness and dignity. The results flowing from the munificence of Isabella the Catholic had been incalculable. Nobody could have foreseen them, except perhaps the far-sighted queen herself, who united to moral grandeur and statesmanship, a faith, hope, and charity, seldom blended in so eloquent a degree in any human character.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### REGENCY OF XIMÉNES.—REIGN OF CHARLES V. AND JUANA.

A BRIEF interregnum in Spanish affairs now ensued. Ximénes, holding the regency by the doubtful sanction of a prince who at the time of his death had no jurisdiction whatever over Castilian affairs, vigorously asserted himself, though opposed by Charles's ambassador, Adrian, Dean of Louvain. Letters from Charles soon came confirming the Cardinal's authority. Despite the repeated remonstrances of Ximénes and the council, Charles, though it was an indignity to his mother, and contrary to established usage, insisted on being proclaimed king. The cardinal at length yielded, and Charles's wish was carried out in Madrid and the provinces, though Aragon sturdily refused till he had made oath personally to respect the laws and liberties of the realm.

Courage, vigor, strong physical force, strict economic arrangements, and bold schemes of reform, characterized Ximénes' administration. "These are my credentials," said he, pointing to a park of artillery, when the discontented aristocracy came to him in a body, and demanded by what powers he held the government so



RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF CHINCHILLA.

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ADDITION

absolutely. He organized the burgesses into regular military companies for police purposes and self-protection, retrenched excessive salaries, took ample precautions for the preservation of the foreign conquests of Spain, extended the inquisition to the New World, and, by his assumption of sole authority in 1517, intimidated the powerful grandees of Castile.

The landing of Charles in the Asturias in September, 1517, fortunately got the octogenarian prelate out of a host of difficulties engendered by the extortion of the Flemings, the wide and general discontent at the absence of the king, and the murmurs of the aristocracy. By a piece of matchless ingratitude, excusable perhaps on the score of youth (he was but seventeen) and evil counsel, Charles addressed a letter to Ximénes, telling him, after various complimentary preliminaries, that he might retire to his diocese. Ill as he was at the moment, anxiety, disease, and emotion, added to this ungrateful announcement, were too much for his proud spirit; Ximénes became mortally ill; and full of devotion, contrition, and prayer, died (November 8, 1517), saying, "In thee, Lord, have I trusted."

The character of Ximénes excites awe rather than admiration. Cloister-bred, gloomy, and passionate, he governed despotically, he believed fanatically, he was reckless of difficulties, and fearless of all temporal sovereignties. Of great versatility of talent, deep disinterestedness, a despiser rather than fearer of the squibs and lampoons poured pitilessly on him, irreproachable in morals, full of a sort of lofty humility, avaricious of time to a degree, short of speech, addicted to theological arguments as his only amusement, people

saw in his vivid dark eyes, precise enunciation, rare mental endowments, and commanding though emaciated personality, a spirit born to rule, and to rule sovereignly.

A few years of universal calm succeeded the peace of Troyon in 1516, which occasioned an alliance between Charles and Francis I. of France, and brought the bloody and tedious wars evoked by the league of Cambray to an end.

A pompous entry into Valladolid in 1518, followed by his proclamation as king by the Cortes—despite its respect for ancient forms and aversion to innovation—distinguished the beginning of the reign. Enveloped in a cloud of Netherlanders, Charles hardly had a chance to learn his own language, as Philip II., for opposite reasons, never completely acquired the Netherlandish. Leaving Castile disgusted with the venality of his followers and the nomination of William de Croy, nephew of the unpopular favorite Chievres, to the primacy of Spain, Charles made haste to hold the Cortes of Aragon. The Aragonese proved more intractable than the Castilians; he met violent opposition from them, though they at length conferred on him the title of king in conjunction with his mother. And here Charles began those requests for “donations” which soon became a regular part of his policy—money, money, he asked for everlastingly, and at all times, so that it came to be said that he visited Spain solely to gather ducats.

On the 12th of January, 1519, died Maximilian emperor of Germany, Charles's grandfather—a sudden explosion amid the profound peace then reigning in Europe, an irritant to the mortal rivalries of the young

kings Francis and Charles, and a spark that kindled into a mighty conflagration all the combustible elements and crude ambitions at that time dormant through the continent.

Maximilian had endeavored before his death to secure the imperial crown to his grandson, though obstinately opposed by the German princes—emperor “elect,” only, as he himself was considered from his never having been crowned by the pope,—an indispensable ceremony. Almost at the very death-bed of Maximilian, the passions of Europe began to break forth. Two splendid rivals sprang forth to dispute the empire—both illustrious in youth, strength, brilliant aspiration, and unrivalled expectations. Charles looked upon his own elevation to the imperial throne, with sanguine hopes as grandson of Maximilian, as a prince of German nationality, and as a king able to repel with what, in the event of his election, would be irresistible force, the encroachments of the Turkish power under Selim II., then menacing Christendom with the whole of his power.

Francis, on the other hand, had high hopes of convincing the diet of the expediency of now snubbing the princes of the house of Austria ; of showing the need of an able and mature sovereign in the present religious and political emergency ; of limiting the ambitious and comprehensive designs of a prince who, once elected emperor of Germany, would aspire to universal sovereignty ; and of engaging a great mass of disciplined and valiant troops capable of coping with the invincible Selim.

The diet of Frankfort, June, 1519, after offering the  
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imperial crown to Frederic of Saxony, — a crown which had no charms for a prince of such pure magnanimity and disinterestedness, — conferred it unanimously, when Frederic had declined, on Charles. Discovering, however, great jealousy of his extraordinary powers, the electoral college presented to Charles a "capitulation," or bill of rights, in which he was requested to sign a solemn recognition of the privileges and immunities of the electors, the princes of the empire, the cities and the whole Germanic confederation; which, signed by his representatives, was afterwards confirmed at his coronation by himself.

At once vast projects of ambition began to dawn upon the newly elected emperor. Centuries seem to have gone by since the narrow times of Ferdinand and Isabella. The huge arena of European politics, suddenly opening like an immeasurable amphitheatre before us, discloses the youthful emperor with lofty designs and great enterprises vividly at work before his expanding imagination. Spain at once took a step, from the confined limits of a petty Catholic power entangled in infinite self-conflict, out into the boundless area of a wider diplomacy, leaped to the forefront of the continental powers, and for four-score years exercised an astounding ascendancy over them all.

Charles's Spanish subjects, however, viewed his elevation very differently. They saw in it continual absence from home, government by proxy, waste of blood and treasure in the endless German and Italian wars, and pernicious taxation to keep up all this foreign splendor. A civil war broke out in Valencia between nobles and people, a mutinous spirit showed itself in Castile, and the

whole kingdom was more or less agitated. Leaving Adrian, now a cardinal, regent of Castile, Don Juan Launza, viceroy of Aragon, and Mendoza, count of Melito, viceroy of Valencia, Charles sailed from Coruña for the Low Countries, May 22, 1520. He was compelled to this move by the impatience of the imperial electors at the long interregnum between Maximilian's death and his own coronation, by the intestine commotions in his hereditary dominions of the Netherlands, by the rapid and alarming progress of Protestantism in Germany, and by the speed and vigor of the preparations of the French king, who was now ready with his usual impetuosity to dispute any and everything in which Charles took interest, or to which he had a claim, — Naples, Milan, Charles's patrimonial domain of Burgundy, wrested from his ancestors by Louis XI., or the conquered kingdom of Navarre, — no matter what.

The famous meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, between Henry VIII. and Francis, took place in an open plain between Guisnes and Ardres, in 1520, — a meeting, which though resulting in personal impressions favorable to the chivalrous accomplishments and delightful manners of the French king, was soon counteracted in influence by Charles's ally, Wolsey, and by a less gorgeous but practically more advantageous meeting with Charles himself, at Gravelines, a month afterwards.

In the presence of a splendid and numerous assemblage gathered at Aix-la-Chapelle, the young king was crowned with the crown of Charlemagne, emperor of Germany, October 23, 1520 — an event almost contemporary with the accession of Solymán the Magnificent, to the sultanate of Turkey.

Never perhaps had Europe beheld such a group of brilliant sovereigns as at that moment riveted its attention. Charles, Francis I., Leo X., Henry VIII., and Solyman, made an illustrious band — each endowed with special and splendid gifts, whether as diplomat, *preux chevalier*, connoisseur in art, possessor of determined personal force, or lover of eastern magnificence.

The diet of Worms, so celebrated for its discussions of Lutheranism, was called by Charles for January 6, 1521, — the first act of his eventful administration.

When Charles arrived in Germany no change in established forms of worship had been introduced, no prince had as yet embraced Lutheranism; the controversy as yet was a controversy of pamphlets and passions, and no encroachments had been made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy. A profound impression of the beauty, truth, and sincerity of Luther's teachings, however, agitated Germany and impregnated the minds of the people with the liveliest apprehensions of approaching change.

Since 1517 the new movement to reform religion had been publicly propagated by Luther and his followers. Leo X.'s hapless love of splendor led him to that sale of indulgences which, under Tetzels, in Saxony, and other agencies in the rest of the empire, introduced enormous abuses, attracted the attention of the purer clergy as a bold and novel mode of replenishing church coffers, and brought them to consider it a practice equally subversive of faith and morals. The poor peasant of Eisleben, fed on the niceties and distinctions of a scholastic theology, by which men tried to refine themselves into heaven, found providentially a copy of the Bible

in his monastery library. He devoured its contents, and soon gained such reputation for sanctity and learning, that Frederic of Saxony called him to the chair of philosophy, in his newly founded university of Wittemberg, and then to the chair of theology in the same institution. — But it will be useless to pursue the thousand-told tale of the reformation. Luther published ninety-five theses against indulgences; he was supported by the Augustinian friars of his own monastic order, he was secretly encouraged by the elector of Saxony, he was regarded at first with condescending contempt and toleration by the court of Rome, then he was summoned in 1518 to appear at Rome before Prierias, the inquisitor-general. In default of this, the papal legate, Cajetan, was empowered to try him for heresy in Germany, at Augsburg. His memorable intrepidity during that examination, his flight from Augsburg, his appeal from the absolutism of Cajetan, who insisted inflexibly on a recantation, Luther's perilous situation, his appeal to a general council, the perpetual negotiations flying hither and thither between the parties to the controversy, and the manner in which Luther, by the obstinacy and falsehood of its ministers, came from implicit confidence to absolute disbelief in the divine origin of the papal authority — all this need not be harped on.

At last in 1520, a bull of excommunication was published against him; anathemas thundered and adversaries exulted; but literally to no purpose. As well fling pins against a wall of adamant, as bulls, summonses, penalties, against this Teutonic impersonation of strength. Luther mercilessly pointed out the impiousness of the canon law; he made bonfires of the bulls and far

from becoming the victim of abject ecclesiastical bigotry, laughed at, and despised it from his stronghold in the hearts of the people. The glorious light of justification by faith transfigured him; he saw the uselessness of penances and pilgrimages, auricular confessions and purgatory, of saintly intercessions, celibacy, and the decisions of the schoolmen; and not only he, but his contemporaries; so that the ground in which Waldus, Wiclif, and Huss, had sown was now covered with a white harvest ready for the reaper. Luther then can only be regarded as the effective mouthpiece of the general European world, uttering with incomparable force, quaintness, and eloquence, what multitudes had at heart and cherished in the secret chambers of the soul. When a deacon guilty of murder might get off for twenty crowns, an abbot assassinate for three hundred livres, and the voluptuous lives of ecclesiastics approach the bestialities of Petronius and the *Lexicon Venercum*, it was high time that a purifying blast should come and blow such scandals to the winds. The benefices of Germany lay at the mercy of joint-stock companies, who openly purchased and retailed them to the highest bidder. Reuchlin, Hutten, Erasmus, and Melancthon, with the united force of wit, raillery, eloquence, and erudition, — men who had revived learning and men who had not, — gathered their strength at earlier or later moments of this splendid liberation of Christianity, and whether in speculative accord with it or not, directly or incidentally aided in its accomplishment.

Charles, from motives of policy, perhaps, more than on the merits of the case, resolved to treat Luther with signal severity; he was summoned to appear at Worms,

in March, 1521. He did appear under imperial safe-conduct, saying, "that he should do so though as many devils as there are tiles on the houses, were there combined against him;" but as an obstinate and excommunicated criminal, he was deprived by edict, when neither threats nor prayers could prevail on him to retract his opinions, of his rights as a citizen, and even the personal protection of favorably disposed princes. He suddenly disappeared, and lay concealed at Wartburg for nine months, under the protection of the elector of Saxony.

In 1521, hostilities broke out in Navarre between the French and Spanish, but the former were defeated and driven out. A league was formed between Henry and Charles against Francis; hostilities broke out in the Netherlands and Italy; the pope declared against France, and a grand spectacular scene of war, tournament, and negotiation ensued, further complicated by Leo's death in 1522, and the election of Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's old tutor, to the pontifical dignity. Solyman the Magnificent, made his famous descent on Rhodes in 1522, the seat of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and pitting two hundred thousand against five or six thousand soldiers and knights, commanded by the heroic Villers de l'Isle Adam, brought it to an honorable capitulation after a siege of six months. The knights then received from the emperor as reparation the island of Malta, so celebrated afterwards for its resistance to the same enemy in Philip's time.

By the victory of the nobles over the "comunidades," of Castile, at Villalar, April 23, 1522, — an event

which crushed for ages the communal liberties of Spain, — an unsuccessful insurrection was quelled and a new confirmation and extension of the powers of the crown resulted.

The Castilians were acknowledged to have better understood the principles of liberty than any other people in Europe; to have acquired more liberal ideas of government and the rights and privileges of individuals; and to have exhibited a political knowledge not attained even by the English till a century later. And yet by this fatal revolution, headed by Juan de Padilla, and suppressed as suddenly, all was risked and all was lost. The people and cortes subsided into that lethargy from which they were never roused except when the cortes abandoning the ancient and cautious form of examining and redressing grievances before they proceeded to grant supplies, was called upon for money and began to grant it without remonstrance. And from this fatal victory the privileges of the cities date their circumscription and abolition, commerce begins to decline, the cortes ceased to be a genuine deliberative body, and, in the next reign, was almost entirely superseded by a system of councils established and multiplied by the politic Philip. From Villalar, therefore, — from this great, popular insurrection, protesting against tyranny and breathing through its "Holy Junta" such liberty as could hardly be expected from the haughtiest confederacy in the most enlightened times, — dates the extinction of Spanish liberty.

Disaffection followed in Valencia, Aragon, and Majorca, and Charles's peninsula dominions for a moment — owing to the national antipathy, rivalries, and hostile-

ity, existing from time immemorial between the different kingdoms comprising Spain — seemed on the point of dissolution. By prudent and generous behavior towards the malecontents, however, — by punishing capitally scarcely twenty persons in Castile, after his arrival in Spain, by humoring with tact their national prejudices, by gentleness and conciliation, he easily pacified them; and as they idolized the memory of Isabella, and loved and pitied the Lady Jane, so they began to twine their impressionable affections round him and to serve him with that love and loyalty seen, perhaps, nowhere in the world more profoundly and pathetically than in the peninsula.

Charles, elated with recent successes in Italy, made his disastrous invasion of Provence (1524) and was repelled by the military skill, resources, and wisdom, of Francis. Delivered from this invasion Francis, — who seemed to be in a perpetual dance and exhilaration of happy animal spirits, — assisted by one of the most powerful and best-appointed armies ever raised in France, resolved upon the re-invasion of Milan, and, appointing Louise of Savoy, his mother, regent during his absence, he passed the Alps at Mont Cenis, spread consternation and disorder before him, embarrassed the imperialists by his brisk movements, and — fatal error for him — turned aside to lay siege to Pavia, (October 1524), a town of great importance, but strong in fortifications.

Detained by the gallant defence of Pavia, and yet pursuing his design of taking it with a rashness and obstinacy hard to explain, sacrificing everything to his boast that he would take the city, and keenly alive to

the ignominy of abandoning the enterprise unaccomplished, he was shut in between the forces of Leyva, commandant at Pavia, and the forces of the imperial generals; a battle took place, universal rout ensued, ten thousand men fell, and Francis himself, together with the king of Navarre, was taken prisoner. Perhaps the most memorable dispatch in history is that which Francis sent to his mother after the battle: "Madam, all is lost except our honor!"

His kingdom was saved by the address and foresight of Louise of Savoy.

Instead of treating Francis with the magnanimity due a great prince, — instead of making one concentrated campaign against France and Italy before they had recovered from their speechless demoralization, Charles, as usual, took refuge in prolix negotiations, proposed offensive measures to Francis — restoration of Burgundy, surrender of Dauphiné and Provence, satisfaction of Henry's claims on France, and renunciation of all French pretensions to Naples and Milan, — and sent the knightly Francis into ignoble captivity in the alcázar of Madrid, under the lynx eyes of Alarcon.

After a rigorous imprisonment of more than a year, Francis was finally released from captivity by the treaty of Madrid, January 14, 1526. He left his eldest son, the dauphin, and his second son, the Duc d'Orléans, as hostages for the performance of the stipulations of the treaty.

It is to Charles's disgrace that he was driven to this treaty by urgent necessity; by Francis's threatening to resign his crown to the dauphin rather than be tortured into concessions unworthy of a king, and by his

own dread that if he refined his torment too far, and wrung and stung Francis's spirit by still more humiliating conditions, he might outwit himself, and lose the magnificent ransom which he hoped to get from the French king.

In March, 1526, Charles's union with Isabella, of Portugal, a beautiful and accomplished princess, nearly related to the royal house of Spain, was solemnized with picturesque gayety and glory at Seville, — the loveliest of the Andalusian cities; an event nearly contemporaneous with the time when Francis, leaping into Lautrec's boat at Hendaya, crossed the river, sprang delightedly on the soil of France, and crying, "I am yet a king," galloped full speed to Bayonne.

Disquietude reigned in Germany during this interval; an insurrection of the peasants in Suabia broke out, followed by another in Thuringia led by Muncer, one of Luther's disciples, a communist and revolutionary of the worst and wildest type. The death of Muncer, who was condemned and executed as his crimes deserved, ended the war, but did not quench the smouldering religious enthusiasm upon which it was built, afterwards to flash up anew in a dangerous and sanguinary form. Luther's translation of the Bible, succeeded by what was called his "incestuous marriage" with a noble nun, Catherine à Boria, created great scandal in the ecclesiastical world, somewhat extenuated, to be sure, by his prudence and moderation during this peasant outbreak.

Absolved by the pope from his oath not to take up arms against Charles, Francis made haste, on his deliverance, to form a league with Henry, the Pope, Milan, and Venice against the swelling ambition of the empe-

ror. Being required to perform what he had stipulated — especially the restoration of Burgundy — he replied by publishing his league with the other powers, thus rousing the bitterest indignation of Charles.

In 1527 took place the sacking of Rome by the imperialists, under the Constable de Bourbon — an event infamous to the last degree, disclaimed, though secretly rejoiced in, by Charles, and giving to the Catholic world a cruel shock. To avenge Pope Clement's double-dealing, Charles's general, Bourbon, set out with a mutinous and savage crew of twenty-five thousand men of every nationality, with the intention of invading the papal territories. Immense booty allured the soldiers, rendered furious by lack of pay and by suffering; Clement, fluctuating, finally made a treaty with Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, disbanded his troops, and relied on providence and the other party to the treaty for a carrying out of its articles. Bourbon refused to recognize the new treaty, marched on and assaulted Rome, defended only by such troops as Clement could hurriedly gather, was slain himself in the assault, and his men, animated by frenzy, stormed, burned, ravaged, and violated, in a way that roused indignation throughout Christendom. Clement fled to the castle of St. Angelo, and Charles laughed in his sleeve. Starved out of his stronghold, the wretched Medici had to surrender, while the horror of Europe at the sacrilege of the Holy City in flames was assuaged by the devout spectacle of Charles appointing prayers and processions throughout all Spain for the recovery of the pope's liberty, putting himself and his court in mourning, and commanding the rejoicings over the birth of his son Philip, inauspicious in this moment of universal desolation (!), to cease.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### REIGN OF CHARLES V. AND JUANA.

[CONTINUED.]

THE next eight years (1527-1535) were crowded with events, some of minor, some of immense importance. The large extent of Charles's dominions compelled frequent absences from Spain. His life was one of incessant travel from point to point and from diet to diet; and the wonder is not that he should have abdicated in the prime of life, but that he should have held his tumultuous territories as long as he did. Pope followed pope; treaty followed treaty; war, negotiation, and reconciliation followed war, negotiation, and reconciliation; and still the emperor, with matchless calm and persistency, gout-tormented as he was, exposed as he was to the infinite fatigues of horse-back travel over vast distances, held on, and with impassivity continued to weave the woof of his designs. The period under view embraced the formation of the confederacy between Henry and Francis against Charles; the recovery of their liberty by the Florentines, with the re-establishment of their ancient popular form of government; the invasion of Italy by the French and Venetians for the liberation of the pope and the Italian states; the liberation of Clement in 1527 on payment

of an enormous ransom ; the romantic cartel of defiance from Francis giving the emperor the lie in form for saying that he was a base violator of public faith and a stranger to the honor of a gentleman (the challenge was accepted by Charles, though the duel did not take place) ; the retreat of the imperialists from Rome in 1528, the revolt of the great Andrew Doria from France, with the recovery of her liberty by Genoa the same year, and the peace of Cambray, Aug. 5, 1529, between Charles and Francis, with terms advantageous to the emperor.

Francis, impatient to release his sons from captivity in Spain, sacrificed by this treaty the fruits of nine successive campaigns, left Charles arbiter of the fate of Italy, removed a stigma from the Netherlands by abandoning his claims to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and showed the fertility, caution, and sagacity of Charles in favorable contrast with his own heedlessness and impetuosity. Henry, anxious to obtain a divorce from Catharine of Aragon, owing to newly discovered scruples as to the legitimacy of his marriage with his brother's widow, and equally desirous to gain Clement's consent to it, acquiesced in the treaty. Then the emperor, landing at Genoa, appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror, winning all by his courtesy and affability. He re-established the authority of the Medici at Florence, appointed the diet of Speyer for March 15, 1529, and enjoined those states of the empire which had hitherto obeyed the decree issued against Luther at Worms in 1524 to persevere in the observation of it, while prohibiting further religious innovations. The name Protestant was said first to have been given to the band of illustrious princes and

cities that entered a protest against this decree passed by a majority of voices at the diet — Elector of Saxony, Marquis of Brandenburg, Landgrave of Hesse, Duke of Lunenburg, Prince of Anhalt, and deputies from fourteen imperial cities.

On March 22, 1530, a diet of the empire was held at Augsburg, during which Melancthon, the ethereal-minded scholar, drew up the famous Augsburg Confession of Faith, expressing with moderation and soberness the precise tenets of the Protestant party. A severe decree, condemning most of the heretical opinions of this confession, was fulminated by the popish party; a severity which compelled the Protestant states, alarmed at the prospect of rigorous persecution, and convinced of their destruction having been determined upon, to enter into a league of mutual defence against all aggressors, at Smalkalde, December 22, 1530.

By firmness in adhering to their opinions, by the unanimity with which they pushed all their pretensions, and by their wisdom in seizing a happy conjuncture when the emperor was embarrassed on one side by the precarious peace with France, and on the other by the hostile movements of Solymán, they managed to extort from Charles at Nuremberg (1531), terms which virtually amounted to toleration of Protestantism. Solymán was compelled to retreat from Hungary. Charles thus released, set out to re-visit Spain by way of Italy, and arrived in Barcelona in 1533:

The famous enterprise of the Spaniards against the pirates of Barbary, in 1535, aroused universal attention, spread Charles's fame as the chief prince in Christendom everywhere, and with the defeat of the corsair

Barbarossa's army and the surrender of Tunis, momentarily extinguished the system of piracy with which the Mediterranean was afflicted.

In 1538, at Nice, was concluded a truce of ten years between Charles and Francis — a result accomplished by the zeal and ingenuity of the venerable pontiff Paul, and doubtless pleasing to Charles, after his second luckless invasion of Provence in 1536. An interview took place between the rivals, spiced with piquant recollections, perhaps, considering the terms on which they had been for twenty years. They had mutually given and taken the lie; Charles had denounced Francis as destitute of honor, Francis had accused Charles of being accessory to the recent death of the dauphin, and injuries without number reciprocally inflicted or endured were in the memory of each. And yet they romantically rushed into each other's arms like two school-boys, and showed the warmest demonstrations of esteem and affection on both sides.

In 1539, on the accession of Henry to the electorate of Saxony — a prince devotedly attached to Protestantism — that religion became established in every part of Saxony.

The expenses of Charles's military undertakings now caused Spain to groan under a taxation unknown in its history. He dismissed the Cortes of Castile at Toledo in 1539 with great acrimony because it ventured to expostulate with his continual entanglement in European affairs, the burdens entailed upon the people in consequence, and the threatened ruin of public credit and private resources. Henceforth nobles and prelates were not called to the Cortes, under pretence that those

who were exempt from taxation had no right to impose it; and the Cortes was then limited to thirty-six representatives from eighteen cities. The nobility, in crushing the commons and upholding the royal prerogative at Villalar, in 1522, had virtually extinguished their own body, ill-compensated by such paltry privileges as wearing a hat in the king's presence, donning anniversary robes, rights of petty jurisdiction, and maintenance of miraculously precise etiquette.

The insurrection of Ghent in 1536, caused by her citizens refusing to pay their quota to the French war, was crushed by Charles with relentless rigor, and an example of severity set before his other subjects of the Netherlands that dared to set themselves in the way of his measures.

The year 1540, is rendered noticeable by the establishment of the order of Jesuits. The soldier-monk Loyola, at length removing the pope's scruples against the formation of a new order by promising to add to the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and monastic obedience, that of special obedience to the pope, — binding his followers to abject submission to the interests of religion, — obtained Paul's authorization to institute this world-wide organization. A missionary order under military organization — a religious order devoted to worldly affairs, education, and the conquest of persons of rank and intelligence, a body of men whose watchword was implicit and absolute obedience to the mandate of their general, no matter on what errand bent, an immense bureau of secret intelligence from every quarter of the globe, a scheme soon furnishing subtle spiritual guides to nearly all the monarchs in

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Europe and participating in every revolution and every intrigue *pro gloria fidei*, — their wealth, their special trading facilities with foreign countries, granted by the court of Rome, their possessions in every country — sometimes with sovereign sway — and their characteristic and pernicious attachment to the order first and the order last — showed, before the end of the sixteenth century, that mighty progress which, though illustrated by eminence in literature, art, and education, was soon seen to be the fertile source of innumerable calamities to civil and political society. Occult ambition, reckless selfishness, insatiable intrigue, caused their ruin; and though they did not exercise any considerable influence in Charles's time, the order began their career at that epoch, and experienced a check from his sagacious and far-seeing spirit.

Another expedition to Africa against Algiers, in 1541, going down in an eclipse of disaster, as the first had been full of glory, now called Charles away.

The emperor's great qualities came out conspicuously in his reverses; self-denial, greatness of soul in defeat, constancy, humanity, showed that he was not wholly mastered by selfishness and self-interest.

The immense pageant of Charles's reign was now increased by the presence of Maurice of Saxony, who, in 1541, succeeded his father Henry in that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family; a knightly figure; brilliant, graceful, daring; a zealous Protestant, a great general, a paladin of romance for costly and insinuating accomplishments; and all this at twenty. Francis, tired of the truce, renewed hostilities in 1542 with five fine armies, but made peace at Crespy in 1544.

The council of Trent was summoned to meet in 1545, soon after the peace of Crespy, but the Protestants, with the exception of Maurice, who courted favor with the emperor, would have nothing to do with it.

An inflammation of the stomach carried off the great Luther in 1541.

The reformer left behind a reputation for dauntless intrepidity, zeal for truth, purity and austerity of manners, humor, passionate temper, and prejudice, not mingled in equal degree in the character of any of his contemporaries. Indelicacy, culpable acrimony of statement, irascibility, and vanity, cast a shade on one side of the picture, and tell us that Luther was human. But a rugged grandeur of soul, an infinitely subtle spirit of mirth, the warbling of a melodious gift for poetry, a Homeric sense of the ridiculous, a generous toleration for human frailty, and a pleasant garrulousness as of some rough old man talking to his children, show us in him glimpses of a loveliness and simplicity allied to the sweetest tendencies of our nature.

The next two years, saw the commencement of hostilities against the Protestants. Charles concluded a truce with Solyman, gained over Maurice and other princes in Germany, formed a treaty with the pope to check the growth of Henry, and while endeavoring to conceal his intentions from the Protestants, so alarmed them that, after gigantic efforts, they were enabled to take the field with forces superior to his own, and even to overawe the emperor. The elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Wurtemberg, the princes of Anhalt, and the cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Strassburg, were the principal contributors to this great ar-

mament of seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. But the host fell asunder at the critical moment; one part of it after another submitted; and, finally, by the battle of Mühlberg, in 1547, Charles defeated and took prisoner the elector of Saxony. He forced him with ungenerous rigor to surrender the electorate and remain a perpetual prisoner; Maurice was put in possession of his dominions as his reward for deserting the Protestant cause; and the landgrave of Hesse, Maurice's father-in-law, being made the victim of an infamous piece of perfidy on Charles's part, was detained a prisoner under a Spanish guard.

The emperor's indecent treatment of two of the greatest princes of Germany provoked murmurs long and loud. But assuming the arrogant and inflexible tone of a conqueror, he began to dictate despotically and greatly to alarm a people habituated during centuries to consider the imperial authority as neither extensive nor formidable. Charles could act all the more confidently, as Francis, his antagonist during twenty-eight years,—the gay, the spiritual, the captivating, the accomplished,—was now no more.

The sparkling volatility of Francis, his absolute authority within his own compact dominions, his enthusiastic and adventurous temperament, his easily-kindled affections, his love of poetry and painting, were a direct counterbalance to Charles's length of deliberation, his bull-dog-like obstinacy, his sway over a large and loose confederation, perpetually angry, perpetually in fermentation, and his cautious utilization of his conquests. We may admire Charles, but Francis we cannot help loving. An irrepressible boyishness, a dash, a gal-

lantry, unknown to his sober rival, endear him to us, and make us forgive or forget his numerous faults.

Charles now journeyed into the Low Countries to receive and have his son Philip, now twenty-one, recognized as heir-apparent of the Netherlands. Philip, though welcomed and entertained with the ancient splendor of Brabant, did not make a good impression. His youth seemed to have no bloom, no brilliance, no benignity, already his haughty reserve and solemn frown overcast the sunshiny disposition of the Netherlands, and overawed their frank and joyous temperament, and horoscopes most unfavorable to his future in the Low Countries were already cast by the impressionable imaginations of the Flemings.

Prince Maurice of Saxony, who had all along been profoundly double-dealing with the emperor, suddenly, after the capitulation of the hitherto unreduced Magdeburg, in 1551, threw off the mask, and revealed to the astounded despot his own vast schemes of ambition. In his manifesto of 1552, justifying his conduct, he exposes his reasons for now taking up arms against the emperor, who had hitherto regarded him as one of his strongest allies, — that he might assure the Protestants in the practice of their religion, maintain the laws and constitution of the empire, save Germany from a despotism, and deliver the landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long and unjust imprisonment.

Being powerfully aided by Henry II., of France, he advanced with eagle swiftness upon the imperialist forces at Innsbruck, compelled the emperor to fly in confusion from the place, broke up the council, which had again returned to Trent from Bologna, in wildest consternation, and by the vigor and alertness of his

operations forced the distressed and embarrassed monarch to the celebrated Peace of Religion at Passau, August 2, 1552.

This peace overthrew with a breath the monstrous fabric of Charles's ambition, annulled all his regulations concerning religion, scattered to the winds his darling scheme of procuring the election of Philip as his successor on the imperial throne, and triumphantly vindicated and established Protestantism. Maurice's profound dissimulation was glorified and transfigured into providential foresight; and the historian's concluding reflection on the subject is, "that wonderfully doth the wisdom of God superintend and regulate the caprice of human passions, and render them subservient towards the accomplishment of his own purpose!"

Little remains to be said of the three concluding years of Charles's long and stormy reign, unless we would repeat the perpetual story of hostility against France—now his favorite passion; tumults in various parts of his widely-extended territories, and never-ending difficulties with Italy. The landgrave of Hesse recovered his freedom and was reinstated in his dominions, and the degraded elector of Saxony was set at liberty by the emperor. War was again renewed with France for the recovery of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, lately won by the French; but the deluges of rain and snow, bitter winter weather, starvation, and the gallant Duke of Guise brought about the utter ruin of the imperial army with the loss of thirty thousand men.

This disastrous year (1552), was further signalized by unfortunate occurrences in Italy, the revolt of Siena, and the descent of the Turks on the kingdom of

Naples, where they cast anchor in the very harbor of the metropolis, and diffused terror through Italy. The turbulence of Albert of Brandenburg, who kindled a new war in Germany, and united the most powerful princes in the land (headed by Maurice) against himself, threw the vast confederation into a tremor. In the battle of Sieverhausen, in Lunenburg, he was attacked and routed ; but the Germanic league experienced an irreparable loss in the death of Maurice, who fell in this battle, aged thirty-two.

An extraordinary genius ; ambitious, grossly unjust in stealing his kinsman's dominions, full of prudence and vigor when his youth suggested immaturity and recklessness, wonderfully alert and forgiving where his own interests were concerned, a profound intriguer, an intricate schemer, a sturdy Protestant, the most paradoxical elements combined in Prince Maurice's character and made him at once universally admired and universally feared.

The decline of the "Star of Austria" was observable also in Hungary, where the emperor's brother Ferdinand was compelled to abandon Transylvania to Isabella, late queen of Hungary, and the Turks. To counteract apparently the decay of his prestige, a marriage was projected between Charles's son Philip, now a widower, and Mary of England, — a marriage originally arranged for Charles himself. It seemed, however, Philip's fate to marry princesses originally destined for somebody else ; for no less than three out of his four wives were thus selected, one for his father and two for his son, Don Carlos.

The marriage treaty was signed in 1554 and gave to

Philip the empty title of king of England. Discontent and apprehension were general in England at so close a connection with the most Catholic of European countries ; justified to a great extent, for, after the stately wedding ceremonies in 1554, Mary took advantage of Wyatt's insurrection to effect measures for the extirpation of Protestantism in her kingdom.

Fitful campaigns in Picardy against Henry of France, and in Piedmont under the duke of Alva, were carried on with varying event. The conspiracy to deliver Metz into the hands of the imperialists signally miscarried. Languid negotiations for peace between the potentates were labored upon with piety and humanity by Cardinal Pole ; but as neither would relinquish his extravagant demands, they proved abortive.

The "recess of Augsburg," in 1555, a scheme of pacification between the Papists and Protestants of Germany, gave the foundation to the subsequent religious peace and toleration in that country — a scheme essential to their mutual safety and tranquillity. Curiously enough, Calvin's and Zwingle's followers were excluded from this arrangement ; only those adhering to the Confession of Augsburg receiving the benefit of it ; and not till the treaty of Westphalia did they acquire legal authorization to enjoy equal privileges with the Lutherans.

An event long conceived, long fore-shadowed, — the surrender of his hereditary dominions to Philip, and his own retirement from the brilliant but agitated arena of political life, — was now put into execution by Charles.

Elected to the imperial crown in 1519, when Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella had become consolidated,

and had taken its place in the hierarchy of the great European commonwealth—the real sovereign of Mexico, of Peru, of far-distant dependencies in the New World and the Old, of Franche-Comté, Spain, and the Netherlands, of Naples and Sicily—his life had been one of ceaseless activity, vicissitude, and success. He had crushed the liberties of the Spanish people at Villalar in the war of the communities. He had witnessed and vigorously co-operated—on the wrong side—in the great battle for religious liberty and Protestantism. He had rolled back the tide of Turkish conquest in his early life. He had been the champion of Christianity in Tunis and Algiers. He had traversed Italy, Spain, Flanders, France, England, and Germany, forty times, bent on expeditions of war or peace. He had carried on a prolonged and sanguinary conflict with his brother-in-law, Francis I. He had waged determined war on the Lutheran princes of Germany. He had struggled in vain against Maurice and had seen his projects annihilated by the peace of Passau. And now, prematurely exhausted at fifty-six, racked since his thirtieth year by excruciating gout, disabled so that he had to be carried about in a litter and could not or would not sign letters or papers for months; overshadowed by constitutional melancholy and in deep mourning for the recent death of his mother Juana; listening to superstitious voices calling him away, and seeing a fit successor in his thoroughly trained son Philip, now twenty-nine, Charles hastened to make arrangements by which he could fittingly and impressively withdraw into the monastery of Yuste and leave forever the tumultuous drama of the world.

The closing scene of his sovereignty at Brussels, October 25, 1555, when in the sumptuous château of the capital, and surrounded by the gorgeous ceremonial of the antique Burgundian court, he ceded to his son the realm of Flanders, forms a transcendent picture worthy of the commemorative pencil of Paul Veronese. Breathless attention reigned throughout the assembly; deep emotion was evoked by the pathos and lofty self-abnegation of the emperor's tone; Charles spoke with a simplicity and eloquence that touched all hearts; and his parting admonition, delivered in broken accents to his son, who stood by in an attitude of deep respect, brought them to tears. "Fear God, live justly, respect the laws; above all, cherish the interests of religion."

On the 16th of January, 1556, he formally ceded to Philip the sovereignty of Castile, Aragon, and their dependencies, having, the October previous, thrown about his neck the sparkling jewel of the grandmastership of the Golden Fleece.

The emperor now passed into Spain accompanied by the queens of Hungary and France, his sisters, and one hundred and fifty of his household as special escort; and after a few months' sojourn in various parts of the realm, where he was affectionately welcomed, he journeyed on like a pilgrim, to the city of his rest, toward the Hieronymite monastery which he had chosen for his hermitage. There he settled into a life of meditation, austerity, penitence, and prayer; mingling his monkish practices, however, with characteristic amusements, sensual indulgences, and comprehensive correspondence with his agents abroad. He could not give up the world entirely, but kept up unfailing interest in its affairs.

Yuste was a lovely spot ; high, pure-aired, wrapped in lemon and myrtle gardens, lifted into an atmosphere serene and sweet above the teeming plains that washed its base like a sea ; and there, amid its tranquil luxuriance, sunny groves, and sacred employments, the tired emperor found space for yet a few years of peaceful existence. Here, amid the hills of Estremadura, he was enabled to carry out his plans of devoting himself to the salvation of his soul — a plan which his consort, the Empress Isabella, had likewise conceived, but which she died too early to execute.

Expiating the crimes, mistakes, and misunderstandings of a reign of forty years unparalleled for great issues and protracted struggles, required, however, more than mere self-consecration to prayer and holy meditation. Let us seize the opportunity offered by the lull to attempt a concise portrayal, hitherto impossible, of Charles's personal traits, habits, and surroundings.

The monastery had been fitted up with some architectural elegance, richly but simply furnished, and guarded against the damps so fatal to his gouty constitution. Here he displayed in full force his passion for watches, clocks, and mechanical contrivances of all sorts ; he was served on silver and surrounded by luxurious tapestries ; eider-down and ermine lined his sixteen robes of silk and velvet, and curiously constructed arm-chairs supported his tormented limbs. The "Gloria" of Titian hung in one of his rooms, accompanied by a small but exquisite group of masterpieces from the same inimitable fingers. He was as fond of horticulture as Diocletian, and he loved to sit and meditate under his walnuts and chestnuts. Though renowned

for horsemanship and all manly exercises in his prime, he could not bestride now even an Andalusian jennet. Some fifty persons, mostly Flemish gentlemen, whose language and nationality he devotedly loved, surrounded him as his retinue. Though a recluse at Yuste, he remained emperor for over a year after his arrival there, formally resigning the empire into the hands of the diet of Frankfort early in 1558.

He spent his surplus time in mass-going, carving wood (of which he was very fond), arguing at length on scientific questions with the scholar Van Male, gentleman of the bed-chamber, listening to the eloquent harangues of the Hieronymite brethren, discussing theology after dinner with them; and in severe Lenten fasts and self-flagellations.

A musical voice was another of Charles's gifts, and a false note from any of the less fastidiously trained monks would make him swear as in his old campaigning days. He was an ingenious mechanician, and his contrivances kept the simple monks in an astonishment that made them dread him as a necromancer. Being unable to make any of his numerous time-pieces keep exactly the same time, it is said that he exclaimed on the folly of attempting to make people think alike in religious matters. He admitted visitors; the queens of Hungary and France came to see him; he had the consolation of retaining in his neighborhood, though given out as the son of his major-domo Quixada, his own natural son, the spirited Don Juan of Austria; he conferred with military men and strangers from abroad; and he was in perpetual communication with Philip. He lamented the loss of Calais and rejoiced over the

victory of St. Quentin; he took deep interest in Philip's financial regulations, and varied his conventual life in a manner at first most beneficial to his health. His sisters he loved tenderly, and the death of Eleanor, queen dowager of France and Portugal, in 1558, gave him a deep shock. He thundered from his mountain retreat against heresy, and zealously encouraged the



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inquisition in its development. Monastic life intensified his bigotry, while it could not check his appetites or his relish for eel-pie and capons. His health, however, declined; he is said to have gone through the singular ceremony of having funeral obsequies performed over himself in the chapel, which was hung with black and

blazed with innumerable wax-lights ; and he developed a fantastic inclination for dismal rites and the lugubrious and dramatic side of church spectacles. In August, alarming symptoms showed themselves ; he began to pass much time in rapt contemplation before the beautiful features of his dead wife, and before Titian's *Agony in the garden* ; and he executed a codicil to his will, in which he conjured Philip to exterminate every heretic in his dominions and to cherish the Inquisition.

With the holy taper clasped in one hand and the crucifix in the other, fixing his dying eyes on the sacred symbol, while the archbishop of Toledo repeated the *De Profundis*, he expired on the 21st of September, 1558, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Thus the empire of the Cæsars, more vast in extent, and more absolutely held than since the days of Charlemagne, was left desolate.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### SPAIN UNDER PHILIP II.

**P**HILIP, as we have seen, was already twenty-nine when the helm of government passed into his hands. He was born at Valladolid, May 21, 1527.

In 1528 the royal baby had bonfires and illuminations lighted for him, bull-fights and tournaments of reeds fought in his honor, and chivalrous and romantic ceremonies performed, all in celebration of his recognition by the Castilian cortes, as rightful heir to this unrivalled empire. Two functionaries were entrusted with his education—the complaisant Juan Martinez Siliceo, an humble but scholastically-trained doctor of Salamanca, and Don Juan de Zuñiga. Ancient languages, French, Italian, mathematics, architecture, painting, and sculpture, for some of which Philip showed peculiar aptitude, were taught him by Siliceo. A knowledge of tilting and tourneying, fencing, riding, and other invigorating accomplishments, together with the duties belonging to his royal station, was imparted by the grandee Zuñiga.

Twelve years after her marriage with Charles, Isabella died; and thus Philip was bereft of his mother's high and generous teachings. Surrounded as he was from the beginning, however, by statesmen of wisdom

and experience, he soon became familiar with government and its workings, and what buoyancy he may have had was crushed out of him by the serious and responsible nature of the position which he occupied. The emperor being almost continually absent, and visiting Spain only when his exchequer needed replenishing, Philip was thrust forward into great prominence; was intrusted with the regency under a council consisting of Alva, Cardinal Tavera, and Cobos, and almost from the beginning was bidden by his father to depend on nobody but himself, to avoid being governed by the *grandees*, and in his perplexities lean exclusively on his Maker. Philip's character thus ripened early into a firm, granite-hard, cautious, and calculating texture, which afforded his father untold satisfaction, and gave him hopes that the empire would lose nothing in force when it had to be transmitted to his son. His only child by his first wife, Maria of Portugal, married in 1543, and dead in less than two years, was Don Carlos, of evil and pathetic memory.

In the autumn of 1548 Philip, having by his father's command temporarily surrendered the regency into the hands of Maximilian, son of his uncle Ferdinand, and his sister Maria, Maximilian's wife, set out with a brilliant retinue for Flanders, on a visit to his father. His household, very different from the stately yet simple customs of his ancestors, was now thronged with ceremonious figures, gathered from the usages and traditions of Burgundy. Even his bed-chamber and his table were served by men of rank; there were splendid state dinners in public; minstrels, musicians, *grandees* of the purest water as chamberlains, captain of the body-guard

and major-domo. Everything moved to a resplendent ceremonial, in cadence as it were, accompanied by an elegant hospitality and profusion.

Philip traversed Genoa, the battle-field of Pavia, laden for him with glorious souvenirs of Spanish valor; Milan, where we see him dancing, with light and agile figure; Tyrol, Heidelberg, and Flanders; receiving with gracious condescension the civilities everywhere heaped upon him, especially, we may imagine, the goblets of golden ducats with which many cities accompanied their complimentary addresses. His personality—blue eyes, yellow hair and beard, slight, symmetric figure, Austrian lip, and ceremonious demeanor—was not unpleasing or unintellectual. His tastes were too reserved and quiet, however, to recommend him to the boisterous Netherlanders.

After presenting himself in the Low Countries, taking long and careful lessons in public affairs and the art of government in the cabinet of his father, accompanying Charles to the diet of Augsburg in 1550, where his effort to procure Philip's election as king of the Romans proved abortive, Philip withdrew from the importunate festivities of the Flemings, their masques, dances, and uproarious mirth, and stole like a sombre shadow out of all this sunshine back to Barcelona in 1551. Here at least he felt himself at home among a people, as has been said, with the exception of the Jews, more distinguished than any other for their intense spirit of nationality.

Philip's union with Mary of England in 1554 has already been incidentally spoken of. Betrothed originally to the emperor, Mary was now courted by him for his son. After some coquetry hardly natural in a wo-

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man of thirty-six, Mary yielded ; and it was said of her marriage treaty, that it looked more like a defence against an enemy than a marriage compact, so cautiously guarded were its stipulations.

England, under the reign of this happy pair, was restored to the communion of the Roman Catholic Church — a consummation accompanied by abundant clouds of incense from Smithfield market-place. In the course of time Mary, imagining herself near her confinement, was saluted with *Te Deums*, bell-rings, and bonfires ; “but,” quaintly remarks Holinshed, “in the end appeared neither young maister nor young mistress that any man to this day can hear of !”

Charles’s proposed abdication in 1555 necessitated Philip’s absence from England ; so, accompanied by a bright troop of English and Castilian *grandees*, he went over to the Flemish capital in great state, arriving in September.

We have described in faint outlines the thrilling scene of Charles’s abdication in Brussels — leaving to Philip such an empire as the *Cæsars* had never dreamed of. Family alliances, inheritance, and the Spanish navigators had all but compassed the globe to bestow their richest gifts prodigally on this only son of a great king ; a knight whose lady was Catholicism, for Philip was temporally the mightiest of Catholic potentates, and it was his highest ambition to devote himself Christianly and humbly to the service of his church.

The truce of Vaucelles, made between Charles and Henry II., in 1556, was now violated by Henry, who was absolved from his oath by Paul IV., the bitter enemy of Philip. The complaisant theologians of Salamanca,

Alcalá, and Valladolid, justified Philip in taking up arms against the pope; accordingly he sent word to his lieutenant, the Duke of Alva, to take measures for the protection of Naples, menaced by his holiness.

The first three years of Philip's reign were distinguished by remarkable successes.

Italy proved the "grave of France." The Duke of Guise, who commanded the French, retired with his soldiers, scattered and crestfallen, across the Alps. Paul, who had called in the aid of the French, said that *they* might easily be dislodged, but that "the Spaniards were like dog-grass, which is sure to strike root wherever it is cast."

Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, a tried general, commanded Philip's forces in France, which, exclusive of the English, amounted to thirty-five thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and a fine train of artillery. The most brilliant action of the war was the siege of St. Quentin, an ancient town on the frontier of Picardy, held by Gaspard de Coligny, the Protestant martyr of St. Bartholomew. Pure, austere, intrepid, and full of resource, Coligny was just the man to command a desperate position like that of this dilapidated, river-girdled city. Though Montmorency hastened to his help with the chivalry of France, the lilies of France were no match for the combined battalions of Spain, Flanders, and England.

Philip, who visited the place the day of the great battle of St. Quentin, in 1557, did not follow up his victory and march on Paris, preferring to push the siege of the town by means of battering-trains, mines, and starvation.

After nearly a month's siege, during which it had maintained itself against the most powerful monarch in Europe, the city surrendered.

This campaign was especially distinguished from others of this reign by its being the only campaign at which Philip was personally present.

Negotiations for peace were soon opened. Cardinal Granvelle (son of Charles V.'s celebrated chancellor), William of Orange, and the Duke of Alva, — all personages of supreme importance in the after history of the Netherlands, — were the agents selected by Philip to represent his interests, while Montmorency, Marshal St. André, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, represented the French.

The treaty of Cateau-Cambresis was arranged in 1559, England, France, and Spain, being the contracting parties. The difficulty of bringing the English to relinquish Calais — "When I die," said Mary, "Calais will be found written on my heart," — had protracted the negotiations to the April of this year; but the whole resulted greatly to the glory of Spain and the discredit of France. Philip received two hundred towns in Italy and the Netherlands for the five he held in Picardy. Rome humbled, France virtually vanquished, Naples and Picardy illustrated by honorable successes, Philip may well be said to have wiped out, in the beginning of his reign, the legacy of failures bequeathed him at the close of his father's. The union between the enemies was further cemented by a marriage.

Mary's brief and painful reign had ended with her death in 1558.

Hardly a month after her decease Philip had the audacity to propose, though without success, to her sister Elizabeth, who had now ascended the throne. An offer so purely political could not keenly concern Philip's heart ; he solaced himself for this and for the loss of England with contracting in 1559 a third alliance, this time with Isabella of France, daughter of Henry II., intended at one time as the future bride of the young Don Carlos.

An ominous marriage, mournfully celebrated by the death of Henry in a tournament with the Scotch Count of Montgomery, during the nuptial festivities, and the cloud that hangs over Don Carlos. The Huguenots may have rejoiced in the death of Henry, the would-be exterminator of the Protestant heresy in France ; but in the clutch of Catharine de Medici and her descendants, who succeeded him, they soon had occasion to repent of their ill-considered joy.

As Philip's difficulties with the Netherlands — that transcendent episode of his reign — soon begin, it will be well to cast a glance over the condition of things in that country at this time.

The provinces, countries, duchies, and lordships constituting the seventeen states of the Netherlands, were anciently distinct and independent states, each governed by its own petty sovereign. Infinite toil and pertinacity, intrepid voyages, extensive commerce, the concession of important political privileges on the part of their princes, the rapid growth of communities, and the remarkably free institutions of the Netherlanders soon conspired to produce a degree of wealth and civilization there that rivalled that of the Adriatic and Medi-

terranean states. Sturdily independent, and sharply individualized, however; speaking different languages and belonging to different races, full of feuds and animosities towards one another, and repugnant to a consolidation into one monarchy; they preferred their separate existence, cultivated the arts of peace, prospered commercially, and formed a sort of republic tributary to the House of Austria.

There was a supreme court of appeals at Mechlin and a general legislative assembly (states-general) composed of deputies from the provinces, the clergy, and the nobility; but the power of the states-general was at once loose and circumscribed, and its movements so cumbrous that it could do nothing, not even impose taxes, without the sanction of each provincial legislature.

Charles's Flemish birth made him popular among the Netherlanders, and enabled him to gain a personal ascendancy over the higher nobles, which ended in a subtle and unperceived undermining of their ancient prerogatives. He gave them the highest posts in Spain, opened to the people an unlimited trading area in his immense possessions, sagaciously cherished the material interests — manufactures, husbandry, fertilization by canals, agriculture — of his favorite people, and administered to the growth of large cities like Ghent (seventy thousand inhabitants), Brussels, (seventy-five thousand), and Antwerp, (one hundred thousand), — in every possible way.

A busy, laborious, ingenious population thus swarmed through the Netherlands; their fleets navigated every sea; their great fairs gave a vivid pictorial meeting-



ALCAZAR OF TOLEDO.



point for intercourse between the varied nationalities ; liberal municipal rights attracted foreigners ; capitalists from every clime filled the Dutch banking-houses ; noble exchanges and cathedrals were erected ; illiteracy was rare, and a school of painting, characterized by exquisite humor, genius for landscape and portrait-painting, and a matchless reproduction of homely burgher life, grew up in the opulent cities, hand in hand with the luxurious habits, dress, and style of living of the higher population.

The introduction of Protestantism soon resulted from the intercourse between Germany and the Netherlands. The reformation spread among the Flemish provinces, nobility, and people. Catholicism, with its kindled imagination, poetic sensibilities, and pageant-like accessories, lost its sway over these simple, practical, reason-loving people ; and freedom of speculative inquiry — an innovation dreaded by Charles — established itself among all classes. From 1520 to 1550 the emperor fulminated edict after edict against the heretical Netherlanders, menacing them with “ fire, pit, and sword ” if they did not return to their ancient church. Indignation, terror, flight, were the effects of these edicts — a system based on the tribunal of the inquisition and having as its enginery, imprisonment, torture, confiscation, banishment, death.

A slight security was in 1546 afforded the people of the Netherlands, by their own regular courts of justice, since no sentence whatever could be pronounced by an inquisitor without the sanction of some member of the provincial council. The free and independent character of the population, however, prevented the complete

establishment of the Holy Office in all its rigor. They execrated the iniquities of the institution as personified in the tragical Spanish *auto de fe* (act of faith), and would not, as they hinted, let the Day of Judgment be forestalled on earth and supplanted by the utterances of a grand inquisitor. Still there were victims enough ; and the crackle of its fires, the thunder of its edicts, and the cries of its victims, tell us that for thirty years the workings of the Inquisition were not altogether unsatisfactory here. Charles, however, had too much need of money to make his religious sensibilities conspicuous ; the Netherlands were his purse ; and he had to confess at last, with bitterness, that circumstances had compelled him to permit the growth of heresy there.

In 1559, Philip returned to Spain, never again to visit the Low Countries. He had left behind, Egmont, as governor of Flanders and Artois, and the Prince of Orange as governor of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and West Friesland ; while two battalions of Spanish soldiers, now thoroughly detested by the people, were left with them. Granvelle, a suave, polished, but ambitious ecclesiastic, recommended by Charles to Philip, Count Barlaimont, and the erudite jurist Viglius, composed the advisory body to be consulted by the lady-regent, Margaret of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V.

Philip repelled the Netherlanders by his icy reserve, his lack of enthusiasm, his religious melancholy, and his ungenial austerity. They contrasted his partiality for the Spaniards, the etiquette and ceremonial he kept up, and the gloom of his surroundings with Charles's love of their people, his easy manners, and approachability. Philip's growing unpopularity took an almost tragical

turn, moreover when he attempted to enforce certain religious edicts, which created fourteen new bishoprics and three archbishoprics as a salutary exchange for the three existing enormous bishoprics of Arras, Tournay, and Utrecht.

Margaret, duchess of Parma, received her appointment in 1559, to rule in Philip's absence ; and as she was of Flemish birth her appointment seemed auspicious. But she fully endorsed her half brother's famous saying, "Better not reign at all than reign over heretics," — a principle that enslaved him to an inexorable superstition.

The next six years are of great significance in the history of Spain and the Netherlands. The reformed doctrines, crushed out of Spain by the Inquisition and the *auto de fe*, as the Jewish and Mahometan heresies had been, now developed in the Netherlands into a sort of sacred patriotism and passionate representative to them of whatever was most precious in matters of civil and religious liberty. Spain might be lurid with the martyr-fires of Protestantism ; Granada, Barcelona, Toledo, and Seville might be wrapped in the smoke of the torment of Lutherans ; church holidays, Sundays, and public squares might be made cheerful with the agonies of multitudes dragged from the dungeons of the Inquisition ; and one by one the gentle lights of Christianity be extinguished by the fingers of the priests : in the Netherlands the love of toleration had rooted itself, and no power on earth — not even Philip's, not even the cardinal-archbishop of Seville's, grand Inquisitor and what not — could trample it out.

So, while nobles and gentlewomen, bishops and dignitaries, writhed at the stake, did humiliating penance, or were "reconciled," and the fires, for lack of material, gradually slackened, till by 1570 they gleaned only a solitary Lutheran here and there for the delectation of the spectacle-loving grandees; while speculative, physical, and practical science, literature, and culture, were mute, or merged in a theology with which innovation was a crime; the very principle thus destructive to Spain struck ineradicable roots in Holland, and gave birth not only to liberty, but to an intense intellectual activity in due proportion to the efforts made to extinguish it.

Denmark, Sweden, England, and France were deeply agitated by the same questions falling from the lips of Knox, Calvin, and their compeers. Even a king of Navarre had declared himself a Protestant. And perhaps it would have fared ill with Catholicism, had not Philip, tolerant of no other religion, "offered a counterpoise to the Protestant cause, which prevented it from making itself master of Europe." Unphilosophical, bigoted, making the maintenance of Catholicism a point of honor, he erred capitally in giving so much authority to foreigners in the Netherlands—particularly to the unscrupulous Granvelle—and excluding the princes to whom he owed St. Quentin and Gravelines. He did not take proper measures to employ or satisfy the hordes of inferior aristocracy and disbanded soldiery vagabondizing through the land and producing crying discontent. He did not fulfil his promise of removing the hated Spanish troops until 1561, more than a year after he had stipulated to do so.

While the great nobles affected devotion to the established religion, some of them were far from feeling it. Troubles arose in which the Lady Margaret accused Orange and Egmont of fomenting discord between the people and the crown. Granvelle's usurpation, zeal, and arrogance provoked open war with the nobles, who refused to have anything to do with him. Philip, passionately urged by the regent to come personally to the Netherlands to arrange matters, to suggest a way out of difficulties, delayed and delayed, doing so with an indifference that soon became characteristic of all his movements. A league was formed against Granvelle. Even Margaret, who had formerly enthusiastically upheld her minister, gave way before the storm of opposition, and prayed for his dismissal. Philip deliberated, dilly-dallied, temporized. Finally, in 1564, he discharged Granvelle — intelligence of which was received with frantic joy; and the minister soon quitted Brussels never to return.

Philip in his policy with the Netherlands, haunted by superstitious shadows, fancied himself continually treading in the footsteps of his father. But the people had changed. Calvinists, Lutherans, Jews, swarmed among them. He himself was heartily disliked as a Spaniard. He had made deplorable missteps; he had retraced them; but with an obstinacy inflexible as steel he now joined issue with the people themselves in a struggle of life and death.

Philip declared he would rather lose a hundred thousand lives, if he had so many, than allow a single change in matters of religion.

At length, dragged out of his mask of deceit, delay, and perfidy, and losing his temper over the persistent cry from the Netherlands for reform, he flashed out of his silence in the letter from the Wood of Segovia, in October 1565, and at once destroyed all hopes of religious toleration, virtually established the inquisition in the Flemish towns, and called forth the "Compromise."



CATLE MERCHANT OF CORDOVA.



## CHAPTER XX.

### THE STRUGGLE IN THE NETHERLANDS.

THE "Compromise" was a document proceeding from a body of twenty young cavaliers, who met in Count Culemborg's palace at Brussels, for the purpose of talking over the evils of the country. In this document they bound themselves by a solemn oath to resist the Inquisition; and protect one another in it with their lives and fortunes.

Copies of the "Compromise" were soon circulated, and enormous numbers, Catholics and Protestants equally, signed their names to it at once. Orange's young brother, Louis, Count of Nassau, Philip de Marnix, Henry of Brederode, and other prominent nobles were ring-leaders in the league. The greatest of the great lords, however, as yet held aloof. A panic spread through the land and thousands sought refuge in England from the impending calamities. William of Orange, habitually cautious, temperate, and quiet, acted with extreme prudence, and had not yet identified himself with the movement; while Egmont, impulsive, knightly-tempered, a devout Catholic and eloquently loyal at this great crisis, could not desert the distressed

and perplexed regent but continued to stand by her at this critical moment like the noble knight and gentleman that he was.

But as the contest proceeded, the figure of William of Orange, came out clearer and clearer. At first shadowy, undecided, reserved, we see him supporting the bent form of Charles V., on the striking occasion of his abdication. Lord of Breda, Chalons, and Orange (a principality in the heart of France), he had been bred a Catholic in the family of the emperor's sister, the Queen of Hungary, formerly regent. Early manifesting extraordinary qualities, which he showed on the battle-field and in diplomatic missions, he was selected by Charles for the honorable office of bearing the imperial crown to Ferdinand. One of the hostages detained in France for the proper execution of the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, he became acquainted, at the Court of Henry II., with his and Philip's designs against Protestantism, conceived a deep disgust for the Spaniards, and resolved to expel them from the Netherlands. Despite the emperor's recommendation he could not win the regard or confidence of the suspicious Philip. Convivial, fond of hunting and hawking, an adept in gallantry, famous for his gastronomic tastes, entertaining magnificently, capable of being wrought up out of his reserve into rare eloquence, he appeared to be indifferent to religion or to regard it as a politic invention; loved and exercised a benignant tolerance in affairs of conscience, and showed his German parentage by upholding freedom of speculation as a right inalienable of the human race. Born two hundred years before Washington, William the Silent has often been compared with the great re-

publican; and if self-abnegation, magnanimity, and suffering for the loftiest of earthly causes can cast a transfiguration over human character, his deserves the double glory of exalted patriotism and martyrdom.

In 1566, two hundred of the confederates entered Brussels, and, headed by Viscount Brederode and Louis of Nassau, presented a petition to Margaret, praying the instant abolition of the inquisition and the edicts. Margaret regarding with alarm the numbers and martial array of the confederates, as they presented themselves before her at the palace, was quieted by Count Barlaumont who told her "they were nothing but a crowd of beggars." From this arose the celebrated watch-word of "*Vivent les Gueux*" (beggars) which, soon further heightened by a beggar's wallet and a wooden bowl, became the symbol of the uprising, Protestant Netherlands.

Brought to bay by the insurrectionary movements in the north, and by the representations of Baron de Montigny, who had now been sent by the regent to urge his acquiescence in the reforms demanded by the league, Philip appeared to relent and to make concessions, made pretence of abolishing the inquisition in favor of the inquisitorial powers vested in the bishops, and declared a pretended general pardon to whomsoever the regent wished, the already condemned excepted. But the whole was a tissue of perfidy on his part, for he mentally reserved to himself the right to revoke whatever terms had been made with the reformers, and his maxim with regard to them was, "No faith to be kept with heretics."

Don Carlos, contemptuously referring to his father's

repeated but unfulfilled promises to visit the Netherlands in person, scribbled on his blank-book one day, "The Great and Admirable Voyages of King Philip," and within its contents, "From Madrid to the Pardo, from the Pardo to the Escorial, from the Escorial to Aranjuez," etc.

The same year the beautiful cathedral of Antwerp was sacrilegiously devastated by a mob, who, dragging the statue of Christ to the ground with a rope about its neck, left the two thieves "as if to preside over the work of rapine below." Iconoclastic fury seized the rabble in various provinces: four hundred churches in Flanders alone furnished fuel to this band of saint-haters and image-breakers, and that in less than a fortnight. Alarm pervaded Brussels: Margaret determined on flight, but was induced to relinquish her scheme of departure. Churches were conceded for the reformed worship, and for the moment tranquillity seemed re-established. Philip, on learning of the disorders, burst into frantic passion, and swore by the soul of his father that they should cost the perpetrators dear. His bitter suspicions instantly fixed upon the great nobles as at the bottom of the troubles in Flanders, particularly upon Orange, Egmont, and Van Hoorne. Love and patriotism — his wife and the sufferings of his fatherland — had now made William of Orange a Calvinist, and roused from indifference, he stood forth as the champion of the Reformation, ready to risk all in the struggle.

The famous test-oath of loyalty brought forward by Margaret to try the obedience of the knights of the Golden Fleece, the great nobles, and the high civil and

military officers, to the crown, drove Orange from the Netherlands to Germany, while Counts Hoorne, Hoogstraten, and Brederode, also refused to swear to it, and retired to their estates. Egmont subscribed. A tide of emigration again set in which threatened to empty the country into the lap of England, France, and Germany.

Urged by the anguish of Pius V., at the dissemination of heresy in the Low Country, Philip the Slow at length sent the Duke of Alva in 1567 to Brussels. With ten thousand picked men he made his admirable march from Genoa, through countries of every shade of unfriendliness, to the Netherlands without accident, opposition, or trespass of any kind. He arrived in Brussels August 22, 1567. His powers were practically unlimited, while to Margaret, as a recompense for all her faithfulness, anxiety, and labor, was still left for a short time the meaningless title of "regent." He had supreme control in civil and military affairs and was a king in all but the name. He was to levy war on the rebellious people, and inquire into and punish the originators of the recent troubles. He garrisoned the great towns, erected fortresses, let loose his licentious soldiery on the unprotected population, and under pretence of holding a council of state, summoned Egmont and Hoorne to Culemborg House in Brussels, where they were arrested and confined.

"This sword has done the king service more than once," said Egmont, delivering up the weapon rendered immortal by the blood-stains of St. Quentin and Gravelines.

Granvelle, learning that the duke "had not drawn into his net the Silent One," (William the Silent), said, "If he has not caught *him*, he has caught nothing."

The establishment of the Council of Blood was but a natural sequence of these enormities. Its twelve judges — mostly men of ancient and honorable family, with the exception of the infamous Del Rio and the criminal Juan de Vargas — had cognizance of all civil and criminal cases that had grown out of the late disorders, and superseded the great court of Mechlin and every other provincial or municipal tribunal in the country. Its establishment was a burning outrage on the constitutional rights of the nation.

In February, 1568, a royal edict literally swept the whole nation with the penalties of treason, death, and confiscation. Innumerable arrests, trials, and executions followed, without distinction of sex, age, or character, but met with a heroism as pathetic as it was indomitable.

Worn out with signing death-warrants, it is said that Vargas would fall asleep in his chair, and, being suddenly roused, would exclaim, half-awake, "To the gallows! to the gallows!"

Confiscation and perpetual banishment were promulgated against the Orange princes. Though powerful efforts were made to save the unfortunate Egmont and Hoorne, they were in vain. They were charged with sedition, encouragement of sectaries, and treason, examined, and sentenced to death.

This blood bore rich fruit to the cause of reform.

It is now time to glance at events in the South.

The defence of Malta in 1565 under La Valette against Solyman II., is a bright spot in the annals of this reign — a siege which gave a tremendous shock to

the Moslem power in the Mediterranean, cost Solymán more than thirty thousands men, and brought the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, who conducted the defence, to the highest point of glory. Charles V., after their expulsion from Rhodes by the Turks, had ceded Malta to this noble military order on payment of a falcon annually, in token of his feudal supremacy; they had become immensely wealthy, had elaborated a far-reaching scheme for the government of the order, had developed a navy which swept the Turkish seas; eventually they had roused the vengeance of Solymán. After a fierce siege the Turks were overpowered: Drogut, one of their commanders, was killed; and the white flag of St. John floated once more triumphantly over the crags and promontories of Malta, — “City of Refuge.”

Its capital, Valetta, commemorates the reverence and admiration in which their great commander was held by the knights, and its cathedral holds his ashes. Malta lies like a jewel cast upon these sparkling Mediterranean seas; and the desire of the eyes no less than vengeance may have made the Turks flock in tens of thousands about its cliffs in this memorable undertaking. What a picture! the sheer morning seas infinitely blue and still; the rock itself bristling with unfinished fortification, ravelin and counterscarp; the sturdy little community of knights, battling for God and soul's salvation; Mustapha with his myriads howling about the impregnable haven, and the sea white with the innumerable moons of Islám. Then flash of cannonade, thunder of artillery, tumultuous onslaught, and the mighty tragedy has begun.

The Netherlands and Malta were not the only spots illumined by dismal or heroic tragedy at this time. In Spain, in Philip's own family, within the sumptuous boudoirs of the palace itself, almost in the very bed-chamber of the king, had been slowly gathering the clouds of a mysterious crime as yet unfathomed by historian or chronicler. This was the conspiracy, confinement and death of Don Carlos, at this time Philip's only son.

Don Carlos was now but twenty-three—wayward, dissipated, discontented; and the eccentricity of his conduct—carefully educated in all manly and intellectual exercises as he had been—can only be accounted for on the ground of hereditary insanity. A fearless, generous, sarcastic disposition, he was fierce, cruel, and diseased, both in mind and body. Upon such a character the spectacle of his father carrying off the beautiful Isabella of France, who had been intended for him, is supposed to have produced a profound impression. Brought up with his uncle, Don Juan of Austria, and his cousin, Alexander Farnese, son of Margaret of Parma, both afterward to be so celebrated in their connection with the Netherlands, he imbibed all the lawless habits of the time, carrying pistols, assaulting people on the street with swords, insulting women, and acting with the utmost violence towards his tutor, his chamberlain, and Cardinal Espinosa, threatening to poniard the latter for banishing a player from the palace. Such reckless defiance of decency brought upon him the deep displeasure of his father. He was distrusted, excluded from military and political offices, surrounded by spies, and tormented in the petty and ignominious ways which

Philip knew so well how to practice. Drawing his dagger on the Duke of Alva previous to his departure for Flanders, Carlos, who had regarded himself as the proper person to be entrusted with the mission, fiercely exclaimed, "You shall not go; if you do, I will kill you." Hemmed in on all sides, the wretched prince of the Asturias conceived the idea of flight to a foreign land. Before attempting to put his plan into execution, and dogged as by some insane hallucination, he kept repeating before his gentleman of the bed-chamber that "he desired to kill a man with whom he had a quarrel." He made the same avowal to his confessor at the Christmas anniversary of 1567; whereupon he was refused absolution. Being entreated to tell who the person was, he said "his father was the person, and he wished to have his life."

Carlos, who habitually slept with a sword, dagger, and loaded musket within reach, was surprised in sleep and imprisoned in his apartment. He threatened to kill himself, declared that he was not mad, and that the king's treatment of him was driving him to despair. "The king's dagger followed close on his smile," said Cabrera.

A long process was begun; perpetual imprisonment was determined upon; and though pretending anguish at the conduct of his son, Philip subjected him to the most rigorous incarceration. To his design on his father's life was now added the suspicion that Carlos was either a Lutheran or an infidel. Philip even neglected the magnificent pile of the Escorial, now rising in all its commemorative glory of granite on a spur of the Guadarramas, to keep intense watch

over the sullen and frenzied prisoner of the palace. Tortured by mental excitement and physical debility, Don Carlos indulged in the wildest excesses, alternately freezing, starving, and then gorging himself; vomiting, dysentery set in; his strength swiftly passed away, till on the Vigil of St. James, in 1568, after confessing, and adoring the crucifix grasped in his poor, trembling, diseased hands, he fell back and expired without a groan.

Philip the same night had stolen in on tip-toe, like a conscience-stricken spectre, and made over his dying son the shadowy benediction of the cross. But Isabella, whom Carlos loved and revered, had been kept away.

The belief was rife that the prince had been condemned to death by casuists and inquisitors, and that his sentence was slow poisoning, lasting four months. Philip was proclaimed by William of Orange the murderer of his son, as he afterwards became of the Prince of Orange; and it was remembered of Philip that he had said to a heretic, "Were my son such a wretch as thou art, I would myself carry the fagots to burn him." Responsibility if not guilt rested upon the unhappy father, and we may agree with the historian that if he did not directly employ the hand of the assassin to take the life of his son, yet by his rigorous treatment he drove him to such desperation that it ended in death.

Thus this poor young life was wasted away by premature disease, exasperation, and excess. Its brilliant dawn; its heirship to the noblest throne in Christendom; its boundless gifts of ancestry, inheritance, and fortune, were as nothing before its own passions and the rigor of an inexorable father.

Isabella of France, after a brief reign of eight years as Philip's wife, died at twenty-three, the same year as Don Carlos. "She passed away," says old Brantôme, "in the sweet and pleasant April of her age, when her beauty was such that it seemed as if it might almost defy the assaults of time."

And in less than eighteen months the inconsolable widower had married his fourth wife — this time Anne of Austria. She was the daughter of Maximilian of Germany, and his own niece.

As for the so-called amours of Carlos and Isabella, there seems as yet no historical foundation for them. They loved each other as step-mother and step-son should, and as a step-son, tormented and treated as Don Carlos was, would naturally love a beautiful, kindly-tempered woman, who had interested herself in his fate. There is no trace of criminal passion to fleck this story of a noble and pathetic relationship.

Between 1566 and 1572 Spain was again agitated by a Moorish rebellion. Under Charles, the Moors, though subject to the constant terror of the Inquisition, lived in comparative ease and quietude, contributing and conforming, outwardly at least, to the established faith. They rapidly multiplied; their hamlets and farms covered the Sierras; among the mountains they preserved their wild and independent spirit, and in the plains and vegas, their ingenuity and patient toil had converted the country into a paradise. Granada had been specially favored in the treaty with the Moors, and its lovely environs showed an almost boundless fertility under the culture of the inhabitants.

But Philip fretted that these infidels did not renounce

their immemorial religion and usages wholesale, abjure their ancient memories, and come at once within the pale of the Catholic church. The unfortunate Moriscoes, however, escaped legislation for some years after Philip's accession, and it was not till 1560 and 1563 that laws were published interdicting them the use of African slaves and prohibiting them from possessing unlicensed arms ; both of which were impolitic edicts and exasperated this already long-suffering people. Soon Guerrero, archbishop of Granada, drew the attention of the government to the manifold backslidings of the New Christians, — as the converted Moors were called, — their washing off the traces of baptism from their newly-sprinkled children, their practice of circumcision, their solemnization of marriage with their own national sports and dances, and their alleged kidnapping and circumcising of Christian children. Hence a law unparalleled for cruelty was drawn up, and signed by Philip in 1566, outraging the most sacred feelings of the Moors, tearing asunder the strongest ties of kindred and country, violating private life in the profanest manner, and evoking agonies of grief from the outraged nationality.

This law interdicted them the employment of Arabic either in speaking or writing, compelled them to change Arabic for Spanish family names, declared void all legal instruments not written in Castilian, allowed three years for the entire nation to learn an absolutely different speech, wholly irreconcilable with their own, and required the substitution of Spanish costumes for their own graceful and flowing Oriental dress. The veils — a necessity to the pure Mahometan — were torn from the faces of the women. Their weddings were to be



**AN AGED MENDICANT AND HIS GRANDCHILD.**



Christianized and solemnized in public. It was penal to wear silk. Their national songs and dances were made crimes. And it became a heinous offence to indulge in warm baths. The most frightful penalties — confiscation, the galleys, hundreds of lashes, — enforced this edict.

The publication of the act in the great square of Granada, in 1567, — still to-day carpeted with poetic memories of the Arabians, and penetrated by long lines of noble limes, — called forth such shame, sorrow, and hatred, as have rung on piteously even down into our time. Remonstrances, supplications, menaces, were in vain. Philip was like a rock, and quailed not at the spectacle of an agonized people lying heart-broken at his feet. The edict was mercilessly proclaimed in every part of the kingdom of Granada.

At once the Moors sprang to arms, under Aben Humeya, a descendant of the Omaiayades.

But for a moment our attention is arrested at this point by a knightly and courteous figure, withdrawing us from the enormities of the war, and concentrating our gaze upon its own fresh youth, gayety, and brilliancy.

Don Juan of Austria (born about 1545), — Philip's bastard brother, said to be the son of Charles V. and a beautiful young German girl of Ratisbon, — came to take charge of the war. A perfect chevalier in all noble exercises, of singular beauty and nobility of countenance, generous, fiery, and full of heroic aspiration, Don Juan rose as by enchantment from an obscure and ambiguous position as Luis Quixada's ward to that of an illustrious prince, acknowledged in 1559 by Philip as his brother. He comes before us, out of

the mists of this dark reign, like a dazzling personification of the last dying spirit of chivalry, — an echo from the romantic land of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, — a prince and paladin of legendary story, full of tenderness for his adopted mother Doña Magdalena Quixada, romantically popular among the people who idolized him, discreet yet impetuous, revealing in his sunny hair, frank blue eyes, and fair complexion, traces of his German blood, and altogether the most gorgeous and winning personality on the stage of Spanish affairs since the times of the great Gonsalvo.

In 1569, he entered the gates of Granada, surrounded by a throng of supplicating humanity — black-stoled Moorish women, with tears streaming from their eyes, who besought protection for their wretched relatives. The splendid pageant passed on like a gleam of sunlight amid this dark-shrouded multitude, and help for a moment seemed to lie in the grace and sympathy of the brilliant commander-in-chief.

But these hopes were of brief duration. A stern decree came removing the Moriscoes from their beloved Granada, city of delights, of palaces, of fountains, and myrtle-gardens. Consternation, grief, expulsion, eternal farewell to their ancient city so tenderly intertwined with sweet and holy recollections, distribution of their children throughout Spain, ruin to Granada, — a single swift decree, like a flash from Dante's Hell, condensed and concentrated the miseries of this dismal picture.

In brief space the rebellion was crushed, Aben-Aboo, "the little king of the Alpujarras," who had succeeded Aben Humeya, was treacherously murdered in 1571 by one of his officers. His body was brought to Granada

and his head put in a cage ; and the war sank in a mist of blood, execution, and exile. Don Juan had by his own request been relieved of the command in 1570.

The fitting close to this episode was one of those savage edicts which were the only mode of literary composition in which Philip excelled. The Moriscoes were all expelled from the kingdom of Granada ; the country was districted and placed under scrupulous military superintendence, and the people were thrust into chilling exile among the distant provinces of the peninsula.

As they had lisped in Arabic, so now they learned to sing in Spanish. As they had danced the voluptuous Andalusian dances, so now their feet learned the intricate measures of the *fandango* and the *bolero*. Languageless, countryless, barbarously bereft of national existence, denuded even of their immemorial costume, they clothed their nakedness in Spanish jackets, learned the suave melodies of the Castilian, and, impelled by necessity to profound dissimulation, slipped readily into the embrace of another faith and another fatherland. But a hate blacker than night and deeper than hell slumbered beneath the ripple of their exiled laughter ; and though they might dance, and sing, and jest in Spanish, in their heart of hearts they were more fiercely Arabic than ever.

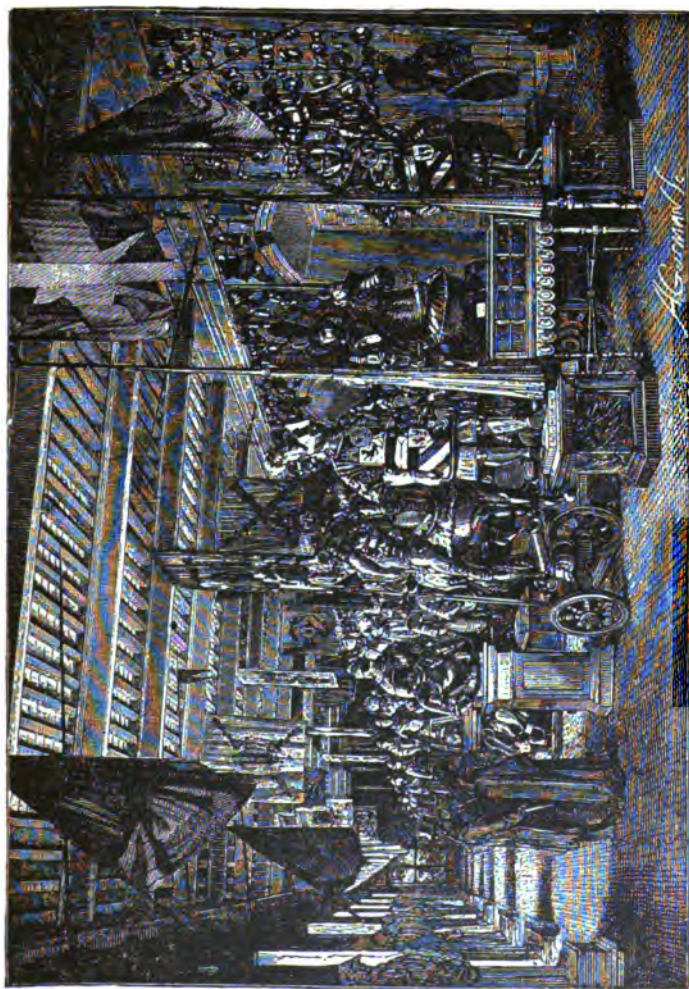
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## CHAPTER XXI.

### PHILIP'S CHARACTER AND POLICY.

**I**T was a national characteristic of the Spaniard to be perpetually engaged in a crusade. All his wars were religious wars, whether he scoured the infidel Levant, campaigned against the Moors, or grappled with the heretic Netherlanders. William of Orange and Selim II., were equally enemies of the faith, and both were treated by the bigot of the Escorial with equally intense hatred. Philip had more tolerance for outright infidelity than for lapsed Catholicism. It was his fate, or rather his glory to be perpetually harassed by the Turks. Malta had become a spot of renown in his struggle with Solyman the Magnificent (1566); and now the Adriatic, sprinkled with innumerable islands as with fragments of a disrupted continent, was to shed even greater lustre on Spanish annals.

Selim II., resolving on the acquisition of Cyprus, attempted to snatch this precious gem from the crown of Venice. Venice appealed to Pius V., who in his turn pleaded the cause of the forlorn republic in an ear that never turned away from such an appeal. Philip, the great champion of the faith, listened with benignity to the proposition of the league to be formed against the



INTERIOR OF THE ARMERIA, MADRID.



Eastern despot, and being in especially good humor, it would seem, by his recent marriage with Anne of Austria, dismissed the papal legate with assurances of immediate succor to Venice.

The Holy League was ratified in 1571 between the pope and the ambassadors of Spain and Venice. Fifty thousand foot, four thousand five hundred horse, two hundred galleys, and one hundred transports, with artillery and munitions, were the forces pledged by the allied powers.

Naples, Sicily, the Balearic Isles, and the seaports of the Peninsula, soon rang with the hammers of the swarming artisans making preparations for the splendid naval armament. The Castilian sensibilities kindled into a fire, and lords and cavaliers thronged about the chivalrous presence of Don Juan, the captain-general. With a magnificent retinue he passed over to Italy and dropped anchor in the bay of Naples. To the Italians he seemed like a young demi-god of twenty-four, with his snow-white plumes, golden curls, dress of white velvet and cloth of gold, and dauntless bearing; and his dancing, fencing, tennis-playing, his open physiognomy and courteous manners, intoxicated the volatile Neapolitans, and made them dream of some antique mirror of chivalry. He was presented with the consecrated standard, sailed over the glancing Sicilian waters to Messina, and was welcomed with cannon-thunder, fire-works, and multitudinous acclaim. The allied fleet was a floating city of eighty thousand men, twenty-nine thousand of whom were soldiers, nineteen thousand being the Spanish quota. They all to a man fasted three days, confessed, communed, were absolved from their sins, and

indulged by the pope as if they were crusading for the deliverance of Jerusalem; and thus equipped, they set forth from Messina, coasted Calabria, and steered for Corfu, where they learned that the Ottoman fleet, after ravaging the Venetian territories, lay with a powerful armament in the Gulf of Lepanto.

There were many memorable persons present in this famous battle—Don Juan, Veniero (the Venetian captain-general), Colonna (the papal captain-general), the Grand Commander Requesens, and Alexander Farnese,



CERVANTES.

both of whom attained such sad celebrity in the Netherland wars; Cardona, general of the Sicilian fleet, Andria Doria, and last but not least, Cervantes, the immortal author of *Don Quixote*, serving as a common soldier.

It was resolved to give immediate battle.

Certainly no more striking and beautiful spot, no spot more sprinkled with undying souvenirs. no spot

more dazzlingly becircled with blue seas, amethystine peaks, and islets magically scattered on pellucid water, could have been chosen for the greatest naval battle of modern times. It was ground, all of which had been immortalized by ancient poet, philosopher, or politician. Actium was near; Ithaca was near; Corfu, where the first naval battle recorded in history took place, was Don Juan's first stopping-place; Leucadia, the Isle of Sappho; Paxo, famous for the legend of Pan which Milton and Mrs. Browning have embalmed; the ancient Scheria of Homer, where Odysseus was cast away and rescued by Nausikaa; fields which had felt the footsteps of Tibullus; temples of Jupiter before which Nero had danced; convents where crusaders stopped on their pilgrimages to the Holy Land; estates once owned by Cicero, and spots where Cicero himself had meditated; the gardens of Alkinous; cliffs rising thousands of feet in the crystalline atmosphere; crags consecrated by the musings of Nicostratos, Deucalion, Artemisia; islands memorable for the marriage of Antony and Octavia, for the landing of St. Helena going to Palestine to look for the true cross, for the temporary abode of Augustus, of Diocletian, of Cato, and the blind Belisarius; islands all tasselled with early Athenian and Peloponnesian memories; Olympian Elis down the coast, and pregnant and eloquent suggestiveness in everything on which the eye fell; surely an unrivalled spot for so transcendent a passage-at-arms.

The Sabbath-like stillness of an exquisite October morning, — more exquisite, perhaps, in these opalescent Ionian seas than any where else in the world — was soon rent by the passionate thunders of Ali Pasha's

and Don Juan's mighty fleets. In four hours the Moslems were almost annihilated. Ruin met the blazing and sinking galleys of Algiers and Constantinople. Forty out of two hundred and fifty galleys escaped, while one hundred and thirty were captured. The all-engulfing seas swallowed the rest. Ali Pasha was slain; twenty-five thousand Turks were killed; five thousand were taken prisoner; twelve thousand Christian slaves, chained to the oar, liberated; gold, jewels, brocade, one hundred and seventy thousand gold



THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

sequins, and multitudes of valuable articles, formed part of the booty. Cervantes lost the use of his left hand from a wound received in this battle. The allies lost eight thousand men.

Ottoman decline dates from this defeat.

In 1574, Don Juan with twenty thousand men, took Tunis, together with prodigious booty, which was soon retaken by the Moslems.

Thus passed away the vision of African sovereignty, — of a kingdom to the south of the Mediterranean, — which had flickered restlessly, “a sightless substance,” before the mind of the ambitious young prince. Other visions began to flicker ere long before the same restless imagination — union with Elizabeth, chivalrous maintenance of the cause of Mary of Scotland, marriage with the Scotch queen — all possible and impossible ambitions haunted the yellow-haired son of imperial Charles. And while he dreamed of Elizabeth as a wife, Philip ended by trying to poison her.

Meanwhile, the domestic administration of Spain under Philip must be briefly sketched, and its salient points noted before returning to the Eighty Years' War of the Netherlands, — a war which did not absolutely become a struggle for national independence until it had continued for twenty-five years, and which did not end till the peace of Westphalia in 1648. For it must be remembered that the Netherlands were resisting unjust taxation, usurpations of the rights of their own constitutional assemblies, and, above all, the establishment of the Inquisition; nor had they an idea at first of severing their connection with the Spanish crown.

But the edict of 1568, dooming to death three millions of people, followed by the butchery of eighteen thousand during Alva's administration alone, was gradually bringing these rugged, hirsute, tolerance-loving Dutchmen to the belief that they could not possibly live with Philip on any terms — a belief which ripened into virtual independence in 1581 and was forever signed and sealed by the martyr-blood of William of Orange, in 1584.

The despotism built upon the ruins of constitutional liberty by the Emperor Charles, and transmitted by him to Philip, found an able perpetuator in that monarch. Philip's Spanish birth enabled him to get a more subtle control over his people than his father had had, to aggrandize himself at the expense of his subjects, to gain such ascendancy that everything he said and did was regarded with reverence. He dreaded the calling in of cortes for any important step; hence he extended the three councils of state, left him by Ferdinand and Isabella and by Charles, to sixteen, composed mainly of eminent ecclesiastics and jurists, a plan which enabled him, in large measure, to dispense with the constitutional legislative body.

Indefatigable scribe that he was, Philip delighted in long-written reports sent in by these councils, to which he added endless commentaries in his own hand-writing. Mountains of autograph — the production of himself and his unhappy secretaries — remain to attest his marvellous industry. Despatch-writing was his bread of life, varied occasionally by gunning or cross-bow shooting in his palace-grounds. Travel he detested, and there were many parts of his own peninsular dominions which his gout, his emaciated frame, or his constitutional sluggishness never permitted him to visit. He became almost as difficult of access as a Japanese Mikado, wrapped up in the recesses of his huge palace-monastery of the Escorial, moving about in close carriages, after dark, or in the woods. His acquired knowledge of Spain — by actual observation he knew little — was immense and exact, and was gathered from maps, surveys, and statistics compiled for him; while

countless spies, flitting about continental and insular courts, kept him curiously informed of everything that was going on in distant countries. He seems to have lived in almost absolute isolation, and to have trusted nobody, for he kept spies on his spies, and writhed in everlasting and uneasy suspicion of his most confidential advisors. No martyr could excel him in a sort of patience which approached as nearly to a virtue as any quality he possessed. The splendor of his early munificence soon narrowed into a pinching economy, called for by his many schemes, for which sixteen millions of annual revenue were insufficient. The man himself always comes before us clad in black velvet or satin, — black velvet shoes, plumed Spanish cap, — lighted up now and then about the neck with the gorgeous circlet of the Golden Fleece.

The most mischievous of his qualities as an administrator was his procrastination, — a vice which heaped up business and involved him in those myriads of details, every one of which he desired to arrange himself ; thus accomplishing but little in months.

The wealthy aristocracy — the wealthiest in Europe, perhaps — imitated Philip's lavish expenditure in the beginning, and revelled in equipages, liveries, retainers, banquetings, dice-playing, and frivolous amusements. Their ancestral castles were filled with serving *hidalgos* and cavaliers, body-guards, elegant plate, sumptuous chattels, kneeling vassals, and regal pomp. And though they might be viceroys of Naples, Sicily, or Milan, and captains-general of the Netherlands, Philip studiously kept them apart at home and turned them into a body

of country gentlemen, without political power, living idly on their estates.

The Castilian commons had been equally plucked of their feathers, and they cringed in the dust, an abject spectre of what they had been in the proud days of the Catholic sovereigns. They might remonstrate against the enormous expenses of the king's household, against the Burgundian ceremonial, against the alienation of crown lands, against taxes unsanctioned by the ancient laws of the cortes, against the king's neglect of the codification of the Castilian laws, against the tyranny of the crown in seizing for its own use all the bullion privately imported by the Seville merchants from the New World. Philip replied serenely and with a sweetness of temper that left nothing to be desired.

The love of costly and ostentatious dress was sought to be checked by sumptuary laws. The cortes tried to keep all the gold and silver in the country by repressive measures; for lack of graver things, meddled with table expenses, courses of viands, the scandalous increase of coaches; and stimulated bull-baiting by advising the erection of new amphitheatres, breeding better horses, and the like. Minute impertinences like these—brought forward by a body but a shadow of its former venerable self, and destitute of all real power—were occasionally varied by consolatory recommendations of one sort and another,—appointment of guardians for destitute young persons, sanitary recommendations, accommodations of travellers at inns, behavior of servants, stigmatizing of romances of chivalry, and educational schemes.

Education at home was made fashionable by Philip

—a fashion still further popularized by threats of forfeiture of estates, banishment, and confiscation in case of disobedience. He did not hesitate to reject petitions peremptorily when it suited his purposes; and as for co-operation between him and the cortes—that belonged to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Ambiguity, circumlocution, delay, were his delight; he never expressed himself with directness; he wound and twisted in labyrinthine phraseology which might or might not mean something; and he was master of Machiavellian dissimulation.

The Spaniards were characteristically flattered, however, by being called together at all—even to vote supplies; and they fancied themselves a free people in spite of the maintenance of a hitherto unknown standing army, the germs of which were sown during the forty-three years of this reign.

A body of thirty thousand militia, a corps of sixteen hundred horsemen patrolling Andalusia, garrisons and fortresses at frequent intervals, twenty companies of men-at-arms, and five thousand light cavalry, the “guards of Castile,” furnished a force whose ready mobilization was a constant menace to the dozen kingdoms of which the peninsula consisted. Philip had but to lift his long finger, and any province could be throttled in an instant.

The greatest architectural monument of this reign is an outgrowth of the king's religious enthusiasm. The Escorial—from *scoria*, the dross of iron-mines found in the neighborhood—is said to be Saint Lorenzo's grid-iron in granite, and arose in consequence of a vow to that saint in commemoration of the victory of St. Quentin,

in 1557. Philip had moved his capital in 1563-64 to Madrid, the vicinity of which to this structure, its pure air, and its central locality offered to his mind incomparable advantages over hoary Toledo or spacious Valladolid.

A mausoleum, a monastery, a palace, a church, a museum, a marvellous reliquary, where the bones and limbs of hundreds of saints were devoutly accumulated; a city of corridors, doors, windows, and apartments; a great library, a gigantic picture-gallery, a net-work of tanks and towers, a confession-stool for princely humility, a village of Hieronymite monks, a town clinging to the sides of the mountain-wilderness of the Guadár-ramas, a swarming cloister, an austere hermitage, a fortress, — what was not this wonderful edifice, begun by Juan Bautista de Toledo in 1563, and occupying thirty years of Philip's life before it was finished? Aranjuez, Segovia, Madrid, Valladolid, all attest that union of magnificence with simplicity which distinguished Philip's architectural taste. And through his spy-glass he watched the Escorial as it rose in sober grandeur with an interest more intense perhaps than he bestowed upon anything else. Delicate marbles of many hues, damasks and velvets of Granada, bronze and iron of Toledo, exquisite work in steel, gold, and precious stones from Milan, gorgeous tapestries from Flanders, rare embroideries from the thronging monasteries of Spain, cedar, ebony, marvellously tinted woods from beyond the seas, masterpieces of Titian and the Italian artists — all that money, consummate taste, and boundless dominion could summon, hung, or glistened, or blazed with magical brilliancy within these walls. The year 1593 saw the completion of the monastery, finished

by Herrera, a pupil of Toledo, after the master's death. But no jewels or precious loom-work, or costly frescoes could give the immense, cold, gray mass a gleam of brightness or grace. It cost six million ducats; it occupied three-fifths of a square mile; it had more than a thousand pounds of keys, twelve thousand doors and windows, sixty-eight fountains, and a dome three hundred and fifteen feet high; it swarmed with inestimable treasures, gems, saints' bones, oriental manuscripts, shrines, paintings, sculptures; Philip dwelt with his niece-wife there, and an arctic radiance seemed to shed itself over the icy Leviathan. But it stood on its mountain-side, solitary and cheerless, the "eighth wonder of the world," indeed, as the Castilians love to call it, but a majestic impersonation of freezing gloom, incapable of ever being sympathetically regarded.

Philip's fourth queen, Anne of Austria, died four years before it was finished, leaving besides other children, as a monument of the dangers of consanguineous marriages, the imbecile bigot Philip III., who succeeded his father.

The year 1573 saw the end of Alva's six years' administration in the Netherlands.

So accomplished a military chieftain, however, could not be utterly dispensed with, and the duke afterwards proved an efficient instrument in the conquest of Portugal, and its union with the crown of Spain.

Of great military excellence, with skilful and daring qualities as a general, a consummate tactician, a formidable antagonist in field and cabinet, of faultless judgment in his military combinations, keenly and wholly foreseeing and calculating upon precisely the points

where his opponent, Louis of Nassau, would fail, immovable amid the blazing and starving nation around him, a commanding figure of cruelty, serene amid imminent peril, a potent chieftain everywhere except against the unconquerable Batavians, — Alva's audacity, inventiveness, and desperate courage rang through Christendom. His love of tyranny, however, counteracted his profound strategy, for the desperation it evoked madened millions into furious resistance. His political economy was laughed at, for he tried to make a permanent revenue out of confiscations. A prosperous commonwealth under him became a gaunt mob of rebellious oligarchies. Murder, robbery, the death warrant; an appalling apparatus of despotism; statutes and popular constitutions made highways for his feet of iron; indiscriminate massacre, slaughtering in the dark, six years of grinding torment, torture, and conflagration; forests of gibbets, with bodies dead and alive swinging to them brutally in the pestilential air; dissolution of marriages; gibbeting of corpses that their estates might be confiscated; insolence, grotesque barbarity, and fiendish spectacles of market-places turned into roaring amphitheatres of lust, fire, and execution: what light is there to this black and disordered picture of the guilty duke, who, swimming for a life-time in blood, was at length, in his blighted old age, brought to keep himself alive by milk, which he drew from a woman's breast?

“The Spanish Inquisition, without intermission —  
The Spanish Inquisition has drunk our blood  
The Spanish Inquisition! may God's malediction  
Blast the Spanish Inquisition and all her brood.

**"Long live the Beggars! Wilt thou Christ's word cherish—  
Long live the Beggars! be bold of heart and hand;  
Long live the Beggars! God will not see them perish;  
Long live the Beggars! oh, noble Christian band!"**

So sang the Netherlanders, "guilty of the crimes of Protestantism and opulence"; and back thundered the "Our Father of Ghent":

**"Our Father, in heaven which art,  
Grant that this bellish devil may soon depart—  
And with him his Council false and bloody,  
Who make murder and rapine their daily study—  
And all his savage war-dogs of Spain,  
Oh, send them back to the Devil, their father, again. Amen."**

The administration of Requesens (Alva's successor) lasted from 1573 to 1576, and pretended to be moderate and conciliatory, though it labored under enormous difficulties arising from the ruin and bankruptcy in which the country had been left by Alva.

In 1575, Holland and Zealand, from which the Spaniards had been almost completely expelled, were united under William of Orange, as absolute sovereign, during the war. The death of Requesens — a mediocre bigot, possessing hardly a tithe of Alva's ability — occurred a year later; but nearly every considerable city in the Netherlands — Antwerp, Valenciennes, Ghent, Utrecht, Culemborg, Viane, Alost — had been left by him chained hand and foot beneath the feet of the Spaniard.

On the 8th of November, 1576, was concluded the memorable "Pacification of Ghent," — a union wrought out by the eloquence of Orange between the Protestant

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provinces of Holland and Zealand and the fifteen Catholic provinces. It was a league which established mutual religious toleration among the hitherto inharmonious provinces, abolished the Inquisition from all alike, and combined the whole nation into a determined unit for the expulsion of the Spaniards.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### END OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II.

Don Juan of Austria, now thirty-two, succeeded Requesens as captain-general, — stealing, as history tells us, through Spain and France in disguise as a Moorish slave, that he might elude observation.

His career in the Netherlands was inglorious, its middle year being characterized by the so-called "Perpetual Edict," a compromise which the provinces wrung from him with the bitterness of death. It ratified the Ghent arrangement, promised removal of soldiery as soon as possible, maintenance of the privileges, charters, and constitutions of the Netherlands; required an oath to uphold the Catholic religion, and recognized Don Juan as governor-general. In December, 1577, discovering that this arrangement was insincere, designed as a mere blind to carry out the schemes of Philip, the states-general deposed Don Juan, and war, after a brief respite, blazed forth afresh.

A treaty with Queen Elizabeth — the beginning of a long and famous connection — was concluded by the States in January, 1578, to the boundless pique of the imperial bastard. He thundered forth war in French, German, and Flemish, dreaming of victory, as well he

might: a superb soldier himself, the lode-star of twenty thousand picked veterans, and begirt by the most remarkable military geniuses in Europe—Alexander Farnese, Mansfeld, Mendoza, and Mondragon.

But both sides being abjectly poor, the war dragged wearily on; and Don Juan—thwarted by Philip's silence and eternal delays, out of money, surrounded by innumerable enemies, suspected by the king himself, the pestilence making dreadful ravages in his little army, disgraced and abandoned, as he said, by the king, in terror of the insidious practices of the French (who had now entered the country), filled with gnawing melancholy, consumed by fever, tossing on his bed in fantastic visions of battles and victories, utterly wrecked in health by care, chagrin, and despondency,—breathed forth his heroic soul in that very month rendered immortal by the battle of Lepanto.

Philip was suspected of having poisoned him. His body was transported to Spain to the king's presence, a disembowelled spectre blazing with jewels, balsams, and brocades, in perfumed gloves and sparkling insignia of the Golden Fleece; but historians do not tell us that Philip was overwhelmed with grief.

Wonder and compassion will strike all who contemplate this singular career. A fine military commander, famous in the Moorish wars, matchless in his Turkish successes, accomplished in many languages, fascinating in manners, singularly handsome, fluent, and high-spirited, a visionary dreaming of impossible sovereignties, embodying the most enviable gifts of the crusader and the wandering knight, Barbara Blomberg's son died at thirty-three, baffled, disappointed, broken-hearted.



**VALENCIAN LABORER.**



And over the Pyrenees sat the uxorious Philip spinning his innumerable wiles, gathering his complicated spider-web of intrigue and death about whomsoever approached him, benignly doing the work of half a dozen men in his silent cabinet, grasping in his hands chords that could wring harmonies or torments from dominions wide as the world; passively gazing upon this noble, dying Lion-hearted, so beautiful, so daring, so unfortunate.

Margaret of Parma's son, Alexander Farnese, a nephew of Philip, — a gifted, dangerous, and impassioned soldier, — sprang into the breach caused by the death of his uncle, Don Juan of Austria, and exercised his great military talents there in a way which transcended even the glories of Alva's reign. The House of Austria, after producing four princes of great ability, — Charles, Philip, Don Juan, and the Prince of Parma, — princes whose wonderful careers filled the century from 1500 to 1598, — lapsed into a state of imbecility and went out in the semi-idiocy and melancholy of Philip III. and IV. and Charles II. (1700).

Alexander Farnese, grandson of Pope Paul III. — educated at Alcalá with Don Carlos and Don Juan; a capital huntsman, tourneyer, gladiator; husband of the spotless Maria of Portugal; a midnight brawler in his father's capital; a hero of Lepanto, where he grappled and captured the treasure-ship of the Moslems; a dark-eyed, side-glancing, sinister-looking, handsome man, sumptuously apparelled, princely-mannered, desperate, and audacious, — smote the Netherlanders hip and thigh; hung, butchered, drowned, and burned like a true Roman Catholic of that age, expiated his sins by torch-

light mass, but found his match in the serene, silent-working Prince of Orange.

Holland, Zealand, Gelderland, Ghent, Friesland, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, concluded in January, 1579, the Union of Utrecht, which was the basis of the Dutch Republic and the foundation-stone of two hundred years of glory and splendor. It ratified the "Ghent Pacification," which still acknowledged Philip, yet contracted to expel the foreigner; carefully abstained from religious intolerance; retained all the ancient constitutions, charters, and forms; left upon their ancient foundations and with their ancient peculiarities a mass of historic sovereignties mutually independent and yet unified; accepted existing civil and political institutions, and wrought an iron league which, without premeditation, developed into the Republic of the United Netherlands and left the Walloon sovereignties alienated, down to our time, from their heroic brethren of the North.

This league, by slow and stealthy degrees, grew into a solemn declaration of independence and renunciation of allegiance to Philip in July, 1581. The Prince of Orange accepted the supreme power in Holland and Zealand for the term of the war, but in 1582 without limitation.

The "Act of Abjuration," as this declaration was called, deposed Philip without establishing formally any Republic, maintained a system of hereditary sovereignty mingled with popular institutions to which the burghers were attached, devised no special constitution, rid the country of a mischievous tyranny, and put an end "to the first and true cause of all our miseries," —

the Inquisition. That all seventeen provinces did not join in this magnetic circle was owing to the ambition of certain *grandees* anxious to uphold the independence of their individual states, to religious intolerance, to the genius of Farnese whose management prevented a confederation, and to the self-abnegation of William the Silent, who refused to become the chief of the United States.

Henry, the Cardinal King of Portugal, having died in 1580, the Spaniards under Alva overran the country in two months, and Philip received homage as king of Portugal at Lisbon, in 1581.

Italians, Lorrainers, Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Spaniards, had long been trying to murder Orange,—five attempts were made in two years—and at length a small, spindle-shanked, wonderfully courageous Burgundian, Francis Guion, *alias* Balthazar Gérard, succeeded on a Tuesday morning in July, 1584, in ancient, linden-avenued Delft.

“O, my God, have mercy upon my soul! O, my God, have mercy upon this poor people!” were William’s last words as he fell riddled with Gérard’s poisoned slugs.

William died in his fifty-second year, leaving eleven children by his four marriages (with Anne of Egmont, Anna of Saxony—a coarse maniac—Charlotte of Bourbon, and Louisa de Coligny). Two of his sons—Prince Maurice of Nassau and the Stadtholder of the Republic, Frederic Henry—maintained the undying fame of the race.

Piety, fortitude, serene enthusiasm, perfect disinterestedness, munificence that plunged him into debt, were

prominent characteristics of the great prince. An inimitable captain, a political genius of the first order, of a commanding and suggestive eloquence, of an industry paralleled by that of Philip alone; a thorough linguist; a subtle and profound intriguer, who had won over Philip's very secretary to transmit to him for ten years copies of all his dispatches; a patriot and self-abnegator illumined by a divine mission; an athlete, a philosopher, and a Christian, the Prince of Orange was undoubtedly the greatest man of his age. All the Netherlands hung affectionately about the tomb of "Father William," and begirdled it with the living immortelles of their tears and memories.

The duke of Anjou, elected by the united Provinces in 1583 duke of Brabant and sovereign of the whole country, proved a traitor, and fortunately died in 1584. The provinces then, after applying to Henry III. of France, turned to "the glorious virgin who then ruled England," and pressed the sovereignty upon her. While declining the proposed honor, Elizabeth threw down the gauntlet to Spain, by the publication of her famous manifesto and solemn treaty of alliance with the Netherlands, in 1585. Philip, who hated the Protestant princess with all the venom of a rejected suitor, forthwith took measures for operations against England. Because Holland was the very threshold of England; because the two countries were so intimately associated by position, nationality, religion, and commerce; because the conquest of England had been determined upon by Philip after he had conquered Holland; and because England and Protestantism might be annihilated if Philip once got control of the immense wealth,

spacious ports, and numerous fleet of Holland; such were the reasons that moved the great but eccentric queen to help the Dutch.

The earl of Leicester — famous in romance, intrigue, and love; the most picturesque chieftain of the age; the man of infinite crimes according to his enemies, and of matchless virtues according to Elizabeth; “a rare artist in poison;” the grandee-favorite of the queen, whose calumnies, murders, accomplishments, widow-marrying, wife-killing, jewelled apparel, gem-pierced ears, magnificence in dress, overgrown figure, and subtle blandishments to an infatuated mistress, have come down to us vividly depicted in contemporary prose — was made lieutenant general of the five thousand English sent over to the aid of the Dutch. Side by side with him stood his nephew, — the very genius of poetry and chivalry, an effulgent impersonation of chivalrous culture, a beautiful apparition with “amber-colored hair,” blue eyes, high-born features, and the soul of all knight-errantry in him, the dreamer of Arcadia, the friend of Melancthon and William the Silent, the star of *Astrophel*, and son-in-law of Walsingham, the pearl-embroidered Adonis in blue gilded armor, who flashes on us like a Knight of the Holy Grail, the scholar, poet, statesman, — Sir Philip Sidney.

The skirmish of Zutphen, in 1586, was rendered forever “to our posterity famous,” as Leicester said it would be, by the death of Sidney. “Thy necessity is even greater than mine,” said he, handing the cup of water to the wounded soldier. His dying words to Robert Sidney were “Love my memory, cherish my friends. Above all, govern your will and affections by

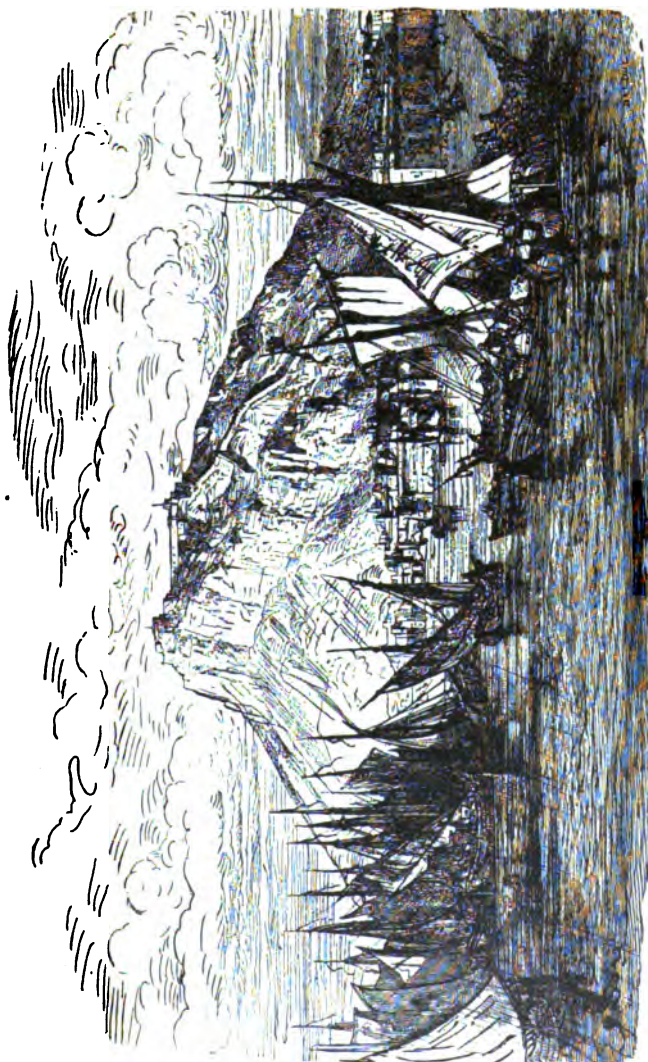
the will and word of your Creator ; in me beholding the end of the world with all her vanities."

Thus beautifully he died, talking of Plato and the immortality of the soul, listening to sweet music, and remembering all his friends with gifts and rings.

The blazing bonfires in Cadiz and Lisbon harbors, caused by Sir Francis Drake's scuttling and burning two hundred and fifty Spanish galleys and transports, gave the Spaniards in 1587 a foretaste of the Great Armada disaster of the next year, as well as of the pluck of English mariners. Leicester's governor-generalship in the Netherlands, owing to his unpopularity, the queen's double-dealing, and Farnese's tactics, had proved a failure, and in January, 1588, he had resigned.

In 1588, Philip tried to carry out his insolent scheme against England. The invincible Armada — an assemblage of one hundred and forty ships in ten squadrons, with thirty thousand men on board, commanded by the "golden" duke of Medina-Sidonia — set sail from Coruña toward the last of May, 1588, with Calais harbor as its destination. Galley-slaves, grandees, mendicant friars, soldiers, inquisitors, bands of music, great castellated galleasses, mighty galleons, gilded saints, heavy cannon, thousands of sailors, servants, and adventurers, store-ships, caravels, familiars of the Inquisition, huge monster vessels, driven by three hundred slaves a-piece — such were the incongruous elements of the armament that floated out amid the tempests of the Bay of Biscay that May of 1588.

A girdle of beacon lights shone along the coast of England and flashed the news that the Spaniards were coming. Drake, Frobisher, Howard, and Hawkins,



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with their sixty-seven light and swift ships, — as wonderfully alert on the sea as the Moors were with their flash-and-go horse in the plains of Andalusia, — hovered about, sunk, cannonaded, boarded, destroyed, utterly discomfited the huge, indolent-sailing Spanish ocean-palaces, and brought to utter grief the vast half-moon of the Spanish Armada. The English darted to and fro like infuriated hornets, and grappled the galleons with a grim determination to sink them or be sunk. Their decks were thronged with patricians eager to immortalize themselves — Raleigh, Willoughby, William Hatton, Cecil, Oxford, Brooke, Noel, Northumberland, Cumberland; and added to these came enormous “floating volcanoes” at night, dazzling the pitchy darkness with unutterable light and fire, and shattering the Spanish hulks to flinders. Howard “plucked their feathers little by little,” as he said, between July 31st and August 9.

The Armada, utterly routed, crippled, and thunder-riven by the English broadsides, swept panic-stricken through the North sea into the icy and inhospitable waters of Scotland and Norway. A series of tempests providentially aided the English, who had to abandon the chase; and perhaps ten thousand alone, out of the thirty thousand men who had sailed forth, ever drank Spanish wine or heard a Spanish mass again. The sea was full of Spanish grandees and Spanish ducats. Eighty-one out of one hundred and forty vessels perished or were captured, while the feeling in Spain may be argued from the fact that a Lisbon merchant, who ventured to laugh at the wreck of the Armada, was gibbeted.

The murder of the Guises, the assassination of Henry

III. of France, last of the Valois, and the claims of Henry of Navarre to the throne,—fiery Gascon Huguenot that he was,—had plunged France into an ocean of anarchy, league, and counter-league. Philip himself claimed the throne through the Infanta, his daughter, grand-daughter of Henry II., and the horrible rumor circulated, “that if the Salic law could not be set aside in her favor, he meant to get a dispensation and marry her himself,” thus confirming his right to the crown, in virtue of his wife.

The death of the Prince of Parma, in 1592, pursued as he was by the malice, ingratitude, and suspicions of his royal uncle, gave a severe blow to the Spanish cause in the Low Countries, hardly bettered by his successor, the Archduke Ernest, brother of the Emperor Rudolph.

The hard-faced, antique-looking Count Fuentes,—a grizzled and leathern-skinned reminiscence of Alva, one of those alert, sagacious, saffron-colored, sinister-eyed apparitions, in Brussels point and Milan armor, that look out of the corners of their eyes at us from Velasquez's portraits—succeeded the archduke in 1595.

Another of the Habsburgers—the Archduke Cardinal Albert, of Toledo—arrived in the Netherlands in 1596, as governor-general in Fuentes' stead.

About this time, a combined expedition of Dutch and English forces attacked the Spanish war-ships at Cadiz, and planted the flag of the republic on the fortress of Cadiz itself, succeeded by the capitulation and sacking of the city.

Philip's second armada, fitted out for the conquest of

Ireland, went to the bottom in 1596-7, by aid of the same succoring tempests that had shattered the armada of 1588, and with it 5,000 men. Mexico was literally transmuted into golden ducats, wafted to Spain by vast Indiamen for the Danaë-tub of Philip's Fountain of Perpetual Schemes. No difficulty, no defeat baffled his purpose. His gigantic villainy in repudiating his enormous debts under the guise of religion, in 1596, beggared the archduke governor-general, and produced "a general howl of indignation and despair upon every exchange, in every counting-room, in every palace, in every cottage in Christendom."

The treaty of peace between France and Spain, — war had been proclaimed by Henry in 1595, — signed at Vervins in May, 1598, almost contemporaneously with the famous Edict of Nantes in favor of the Protestant subjects of Henry IV., was as disgraceful to Philip as the opening treaty of his long reign at Cateau Cambresis, in 1559, had been humbling to France. Philip conceded nearly everything that Henry demanded. The same spring he transferred the Netherlands to his daughter Isabella and her intended husband, the cardinal archduke Albert, as tranquilly as if the whole matter were an ordinary business transaction. The Infante Philip, his only son, married Margaret of Austria by proxy at the same time, — another specimen of that frequent intermarriage of relations so popular between Spain and Austria, and which everywhere spun threads of madness, idiocy, depravity, and melancholy through the whole connection.

Philip himself, now seventy-one and in the forty-third year of his reign, was this year smitten with the loath-

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some disease by which he was soon to expiate physically the enormities of his life. He lingered from June to September in horrible agony, — devoured alive by innumerable vermin which had developed in myriads out of his gouty and corrupted joints, and in exquisite malignity surpassed every deviltry ever invented by the Inquisition. Seeing his end approaching, extreme unction and the Lord's Supper were administered to him repeatedly, at his own request; he rubbed his sores with the knee-bones of saints; he discoursed with edification on sacred subjects; he provided thirty thousand masses to be said for his soul; and made minute milliner-like directions about his funeral obsequies.

His last words were, "I die like a good Catholic, in faith and obedience to the Holy Roman Church" Then a paroxysm passed over the bedful of crowned misery, and Philip was no more.

Thus ended the absolute despotism of Philip II., — a despotism fountained and centred in him, with absolute power to nominate and remove every judge, magistrate, military or civil officer, every archbishop, bishop, and ecclesiastic of whatever sort; a reign consumed "in accomplishing infinite nothing;" in extinguishing free institutions and venerable municipal privileges; in nullifying legislative and deliberative bodies; in eluding justice and constitutional right of every sort; in infamous self-indulgence, criminality, and assassination; in kindling everlasting war in neighboring countries; in corrupting, bribing, and espionageing half of contemporary Europe; in murdering thousands of human beings; in generating the noisome and gigantic pestilence of an omnipresent Inquisition; and in organized

terrorism, hostility of class to class, and extermination of the popular will.

The most valuable part of the population of this world-empire was "accursed" and excommunicated. Philip himself was the kingdom concentrated in one all-powerful personality. Dependencies girdling the globe hung by a thread of iron to a middle-sized, yellow-haired fanatic, who with horrible monotony of evil poisoned the world for seventy-one years, and died leaving a memory compounded of every evil-smelling thing under the sun.

He lived and breathed murder, as we know by his attempted killing of Elizabeth, Henry of Navarre, and John of Olden-Barneveld, the great burgher; by his assassination of Egmont, Hoorne, and William the Silent; by his suspected assassination of his own and, at that time, only son, Don Carlos, and his nephew, Don Juan of Austria; by his condemning millions to death in the Netherlands by one edict; by the grinning skull of the chief-justice of Aragon fixed for years in a Spanish market-place; and by the assassination of his secretary, Escovedo. Countless families were reduced by him to beggary; and confiscations, extortions, black-mail had become commonplaces.

It is also difficult to conceive how a man could be so false, so utterly hypocritical, mendacious, and faithless as Philip was, — serene incarnation of passionless evil as history shows him to be. Illiterate, petty-minded, and full of cant, he could not spell, tell the truth, or be sincere, if it had cost him his life; nor did he scruple for his own nefarious purposes to take twenty-five per

cent of the \$12,000,000 of precious metals annually dug out of the mines of Mexico. He governed a colossal realm composed of the most heterogeneous elements, and separated in every possible way, — in language, locality, color, institutions. With Peru, Mexico, Brazil, and the Antilles, from Cape Horn to Labrador; the seventeen Netherland provinces; the twelve kingdoms of Spain and Portugal; the two Sicilies; Milan; portions of Tuscany; Barbary; Guinea; the African coast southwards, and the Indian peninsulas and archipelagos; the Philippine and Molucca Islands; with the grand-duchy of Florence, and the republic of Genoa as virtual vassals, titular king of England, Wales, and Ireland, and claiming the kingdom of France through his daughter, Philip was a universal monarch indeed.

His swarming armies, his perpetual levies, and contributions, his habitual violation of good faith in repudiating his debts, his twelve millions of Spaniards and Portuguese embraced in the united peninsula, the industrial and scientific civilization exhibited by his "accursed" troops of Jews, Moors, and Dutch, his holy office spread over two hemispheres, his indomitable soldiers, his hierarchy of archbishops (11) and bishops (62) with their hold on one-third of the entire income of Spain and Portugal, — all his marriages, inheritances, gifts, and cruelties: all this and much more proved of no avail; he could not conquer the Netherlands; he never did succeed fully and permanently in anything; he never had one moment's freedom from suspicion; he was hated, dreaded, despised; he was

utterly outgeneralled by Henry of Navarre and the virgin queen ; his great fleets were scattered like feathers ; his armies mutinied ; and he died a wreck of disappointed and ignoble ambition, a striking monument of a life lived almost utterly in vain.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF PHILIP II., TO THE ACCES-  
SION OF THE BOURBONS.

REIGNS OF PHILIP III., PHILIP IV., AND CHARLES II.

**W**E have devoted a more extended attention to the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V., and Philip II., because they form a cluster of reigns the most important within the cycle of Spanish history. Spain became united and consolidated under the Catholic kings ; it became a cosmopolitan empire under Charles ; and in Philip, austere, bigoted, and commanding, its height of glory was reached. Thenceforth the Austrian supremacy in the peninsula — the star of the House of Habsburg — declined, until a whiff of diplomacy was sufficient to extinguish its lights in the person of the childless and imbecile Charles II.

Three reigns — Philip III. (1598–1621), Philip IV. (1621–1665), and Charles II. (1665–1700) — fill this century of national decline, full as it is of crowned idiocy, hypochondria, and madness, the result of incestuous marriages, or natural weakness. The splendid and prosperous Spanish empire under the emperor and his son — its vast conquests, discoveries, and foreign wars, — becomes transformed into a bauble for the caprice of favorites, under their successors.

From the boundless confusion, degradation, and dissolution of the very forms of government which took place at the death of Enrique IV., in 1474, Spain had, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, passed to a point where it towered far above all the kingdoms of Europe in definite aims and in thorough consolidation of the elements of power. The union of Castile and Aragon, and the conquest of the Mahometans, had made the land one. A nation, the most highly individualized and tumultuous of the middle ages, rent by the controversies of an ambitious nobility, an uncontrolled clergy, and the innumerable communities which formed petty republics in themselves within its borders, suddenly abandons its strifes, and follows the path of law and order as developed in a wise administration, a careful police, a vigorous system of justice, and educational establishments of sufficient range. The crown became the commanding power in the land. The battle-fields of Italy, the immense fields of western exploration, became the theatres of a restless energy hitherto devoted to civil war. The marriage of Juana with Philip the Handsome, brought Spain in the sixteenth century into intimate contact with the house of Habsburg; and thus it entered into the vast aggregate of European states. Its isolated position—a huge promontory of south-western Europe, severed by the Pyrenees from its neighbors,—no longer worked against it. Its blood, seething with Phenician, Carthaginian, Roman, Germanic, and Asiatic influences, mingled many of the best elements of the north, east, and west, and prepared it for a career of unexampled scope under the emperor.

Its contact with the Netherlandish, Italian, and Ger-

man dominions of Charles V., might have been of infinite benefit, had not the Reformation placed it in an attitude of rigid hostility to the great European federation into which it had just entered. Thereafter, as in the times of the Moors, its wars all became religious wars, — the narrowest and most soul-sterilizing of all, — whether against the union of Smalkalde, the rebellious Netherlands, Elizabeth of England, the Grand Turk, the African Beys, or the Aztecs, the Incas, and the Araucanians of Chili. This attitude towards the rest of the world was due to the bigotry of the Habsburgers, and in this attitude of crystallized hostility, of unimpressionable fanaticism, of non-progression, and unenlightenment, Spain has ever since remained. The seven centuries of conflict with Islám were succeeded by nearly as many with Luther and Calvin.

Both Charles's and Philip's highest ambition ran in the double line of giving Spain the dominant place in the European hierarchy, and maintaining victoriously the unity of the Catholic faith. They did not struggle in vain. For two generations Spain was the first power in the world, and it is due to its influence that the Reformation was discredited and expelled from France, Italy, Bavaria, Austria, Poland, and the Southern Netherlands. "And yet what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Amid its immeasurable wealth, Spain was bankrupt. The gold, and silver, and precious stones of the West, emptied themselves into a land the poorest and most debt-laden in Europe, the most spiritually ignorant despite the countless churches, the most notorious for its dissolute nobility, its worthless officials, its ignoble family relations,

its horrible moral aberrations pervading all grades of the population; and all in vain. The mighty fancy, the enthusiastic loyalty, the fervid faith of the richly endowed Spaniard were not counterbalanced by humbler but more practical virtues, — love of industry, of agriculture, of manufactures. The Castilians hated the doings of citizens and peasants; the taint of the Arab and the Jew was on the profession of money-getting. Thousands left their ploughs and went to the Indies, found places in the police, or bought themselves titles of nobility, which forthwith rendered all work dishonorable. The land grew into a literal infatuation with miracles, relics, cloisters, fraternities, pious foundations of every description. The church was omnipotent. Nobody cultivated the soil. Hundreds of thousands lived in the convents. Begging soup at the monastery gates, — such is a type of the famishing Spain of the seventeenth century. In economic, political, physical, moral, and intellectual aspects, a decay pervaded the peninsula under the later Habsburgers, such as no civilized nation has ever undergone. The population declined from ten millions under Charles V. (Charles I. of Spain) to six millions under Charles II. The people had vanished from hundreds of places in New Castile, Old Castile, Toledo, Estremadura, and Andalusia. One might travel miles in the lovely regions of the South, without seeing a solitary cultivated field or dwelling. Seville was almost depopulated. Pecuniary distress at the end of the seventeenth century reached an unexampled height; the soldiers wandered through the cities begging; nearly all the great fortresses from Barcelona to Cadiz were ruinous; the king's servants ran away

because they were neither paid nor fed ; more than once there was no money to supply the royal table ; the ministers were besieged by high officials and officers seeking to extort their pay long due ; couriers charged with communications of the highest importance lingered on the road for lack of means to continue their journey. Finance was reduced to tricks of low deceit and robbery. Moneys sent to private individuals from America were seized and appropriated ; the value of the government paper fell twenty-five per cent. ; coin was debased in a frightful manner ; the people were forced to deliver up good securities in exchange for worthless certificates ; churches and monasteries were plundered in spite of the rooted bigotry, and taxes increased so fearfully that a bushel of salt rose once from thirty or forty *reals*, to three hundred and twenty-one *reals*.

The idiocy of the system of taxation was unparalleled. Even in 1594 the cortes complained that the merchant, out of every one thousand ducats capital, had to pay three hundred ducats in taxes ; that no tenant-farmer could maintain himself, however low his rent might be ; and that the taxes exceeded the income of numerous estates. Bad as the system was under Philip II., it became worse under his Austrian successors. The tax upon the sale of food, for instance, increased from ten to fourteen per cent. Looms were most productive when they were absolutely silent. Almost the entire household arrangements of a Spanish family were the products of foreign industries. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, five-sixths of the domestic and nine-tenths of the foreign trade were in the

hands of aliens. In Castile, alone, there were one hundred and sixty thousand foreigners, who had gained complete possession of the industrial and manufacturing interests. "We cannot clothe ourselves without them, for we have neither linen nor cloth; we cannot write without them, for we have no paper," complains a Spaniard. Hence, the enormous masses of gold and silver annually transmitted from the colonies passed through Spain into French, English, Italian, and Dutch pockets. Not a real, it is said, of the thirty-five millions of ducats which Spain received from the colonies in 1595, was found in Castile the following year.

In this indescribable retrogression, but one interest in any way prospered — the church. The more agriculture, industry, trade declined, the more exclusively did the Catholic clergy monopolize all economic and intellectual life. Innumerable families lived on the gifts of their numerous clerical members. One son at least, out of every burgher and peasant family, had to be immolated to the church, that the others might not actually starve; at least one daughter was doomed to the veil, to justify her relatives in asking a crust at the convent refectory; and the father himself, gladly united with one of the brotherhoods for his self-preservation. Another part of the population wandered around as servants, among the palaces of the *grandees*, themselves living on the glories of an irrecoverable past and the favor of the government. In many provinces there were more cut-purses, smugglers, and beggars, than artisans. And the keener the distress, the more the people shrank from exerting themselves, and the more powerful became the tendencies to superstition and idleness.

Singularly enough, along with this crushing humiliation of the material interests of Spain, went the most brilliant intellectual development. The age of Philip II., of Philip III., and Philip IV., from 1550 to 1665, saw an astounding multitude of poets, historians, dramatists, artists, spring up as if by magic, out of the conquest of Granada, the Italian campaigns, and the marvellous deeds of the conquerors of the New World. Garcilasso de la Vega (1503-36), and Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-75), — the one a charming ecloguist, the other an elegant historian and reputed founder of the *gusto picaresco* in Spain, — illustrated the reign of Charles V. Then followed, in the early part of his reign and in the next, a series of the most delightful chroniclers — Cortés, Gomara, the charming old soldier Bernal Diaz, Oviedo, Las Casas — telling the wonders of Mexico, Peru, and the Indian islands, fit continuers of the glowing narratives of Columbus. More than twenty poets, many of distinguished eminence, surrounded Philip II. Here find a place the eloquent religious poet, Fray Luis de Leon (1528-1591), who spent many years of his life in the cells of the Inquisition; the immortal Castilian Cervantes (1547-1616), author of *Don Quixote*, Lope de Vega (1562-1635), the author of eighteen hundred plays and four hundred *autos*, which were so popular that one of them found its way to the seraglio of Constantinople; and the eminent, religious, and didactic prose-writer Quevedo (1580-1645), the victim of the cruelties of the infamous Count Duke Olivares.

Between 1588 and 1682 lived and labored the celebrated Spanish painters Ribera, Velazquez, and Murillo.

The effect of removing the capital to Madrid from 1563, stimulated dramatic art especially, caused the construction of theatres, and gave wide scope to the peculiar religious representations and sacred dramas in which the Spanish poets delighted. Calderon de la Barca (1600-1681) was the last of the great poets, and like Lope entered the church.

The reign of Philip IV., who was himself a poet, like Jayme of Aragon, was the most fruitful age of Spanish dramatic literature. It would require pages



LOPE DE VEGA.

even to enumerate the lyric, satirical, elegiac, pastoral, epigrammatic, didactic, and descriptive poets of the Austrian era; the graceful ballad-writers, with the universal love of ballads; the composers of romantic fiction — chivalrous, pastoral, humorous, historical, and serious; the cultivators of forensic eloquence, and correspondence; the great historians (Zurita, Morales,

Mariana, Sandoval, Herrera, Argensola, Solís); the didactic prose writers, and the dramatists.

In one hundred and fifty years, however, all this radiance had come and gone. The overthrow of institutions in the war of the *comuneros* under Charles V., the virtual slavery of the one hundred millions of people whom Philip II. ground under the iron heel of the Inquisition, the stifling incubus of Jesuit rule, the expulsion of the six hundred thousand Moriscoes, the most valuable part of the population, under Philip III., the seizure of Jamaica by the English, the cession of Roussillon to France, and the independence of Portugal in 1640, the repudiation of much of the public debt, the long and disastrous minority of Charles II., with the deplorable ruin and dilapidation ensuing; each of these things was a step downward of that once magnificent House of Austria.

The disgraceful credulity of the Dark Ages was revived in the spectacle of the last member of this house being exorcised for witchcraft.

Insignificant Portugal triumphantly maintaining herself against, nay, actually invading, the universal empire of Spain; Catalonia in successful revolt for thirteen years; *milliards* of *reals* spent on the subjugation of the Netherlands; and yet Spain, compelled by the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, to recognize their independence and the equal rights of heretics in Germany; how deep a degradation is here!

England under Cromwell, France under Louis XIV., were meanwhile contemporaneously expanding, growing in power; advancing on all sides, by land and by sea, at the expense of Spain. Franche-Comté fell to

France in a fortnight; the strongest fortresses in Catalonia capitulated in a few days. The most warlike of nations had in one hundred and fifty years transformed itself into the feeblest, the most indifferent to glory and honor. The northern provinces under Charles II., were defenceless against the French, and the South trembled at the thought of a second barbarian conquest from Africa. Raw boys and gray-haired weaklings formed the majority in the Spanish regiments. Even under Philip II. the naval power had gone to naught. Instead of developing uninterruptedly, hand in hand with the huge colonial system, it at last sank to thirteen galleys, seven of which were hired from Genoa; the art of ship-building was lost; the magazines, arsenals, and workshops at the sea-ports, stood empty; and Italy, France, and England, furnished the hired ships, to bring the very tobacco from Havana. A kingdom to whose very existence a navy was indispensable,—whose Netherlandish, Italian, and colonial possessions could not be communicated with without ships,—shamelessly neglected the very art most essential to its safety. Its trade with America fell into the hands of foreigners. Pirates from Barbary were the terror of the Spanish seas; the country became uninhabitable for miles inland along the Mediterranean; filibusters ravaged the transatlantic colonies; under Charles II., Cuba, St. Domingo, Nicaragua, and New Granada, year in year out, were plundered by them; the great city of Carthagená was subdued, and Vera Cruz surprised and burned.

This brief sketch may serve to show how profoundly Spain had sunk in the two centuries of Habsburg rule.

It lay a corpse, over which hovered the vulture of the House of Austria — not an emblem of victory, but a symbol of death. ●

The reign of Philip III. is pitifully deficient in interest. His accession to power was at once signalized by the transference of the reins of government to the hands of the favorite, the Duke of Lerma, in terror of whom and his formidable wife, Philip and his queen lived for many years. Philip was so weak, that when looking over the portraits of all the daughters of the Archduke Charles, that he might select his future wife from among them, he alleged, that the princess who should meet with his father's approbation, would be the most beautiful in his eyes — a filial excellence altogether admirable, had it shown anything but the most abject dread in which he lived towards the terrible Philip II.

The death of Elizabeth of England in 1603, deprived the Netherlands of their mightiest ally, and left them at the tender mercies of James I., who abhorred supporting revolted subjects against their sovereign under any circumstances. The United Provinces, however, were now acknowledged as independent by all countries except Spain. In 1602 they had established the first East India Company; their resources were inexhaustible, and the Dutch fleets filled the treasury with the spoils of the Spanish treasure-ships. The treaty of Antwerp, in 1609, secured the acknowledgment of the admission of the United Provinces into the European commonwealth.

Gentle and humane as Philip was, his bigotry got the better of him in his expulsion of the Moriscoes — baptized though recreant infidels — from their native land

to Africa. Two archbishops urged their complete extirpation from the soil of Spain. They had settled in Valencia in thousands, and were much the most desirable part of the population, being skilled artisans, agricultural laborers, miners, and manufacturers. As a last insult to them, it was proposed that six families in every hundred should be detained temporarily by the lords to whom they were vassals, in order that they might teach the Christian inhabitants the management of the drains, aqueducts, irrigating canals, rice plantations, and sugar works, which had been almost exclusively in the hands of these descendants of the Moors. From six hundred thousand to one million of the most industrious and ingenious subjects of Spain were cruelly torn from their homes, and transported to Africa, where thousands of them, as in the earlier case of the Jews of the fifteenth century, were plundered or perished. One hundred thousand are reputed to have perished within a few months of their expulsion from Valencia.

Lerma enormously increased the tax on the necessities of life; the internal prosperity of the country received its death-blow by this emigration; the mal-administration of the favorite exasperated the people; a prime minister had been so long unknown in Spain, that whatever he did was regarded with suspicion; and his elevation of Rodrigo de Calderon, a menial in his household, to the position of favorite's favorite, put the climax to the discontent.

Spain and Austria were rescued, in 1610, from the impending danger of a confederation organized against them on the part of Henry IV., by the dagger of Ravail-lac. The illustrious king fell a victim to assassination.

H. S.—80

In 1613, Philip became involved in the eternal disputes and hostilities of the Italian princes of Mantua and Savoy. His interests there were represented by Villa Franca, governor of Milan, Bedmar, ambassador to Venice, and the duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples.

Bedmar's indignation with Venice, resulted in the conspiracy immortalized in Otway's "Venice Preserved." Ossuna won himself a fantastic celebrity under Philip



PHILIP III.

II., by so extravagantly executing the king's order to send corn from Naples to Spain that he "produced plenty in Spain and famine in the kingdom of Naples." Suspected of the desire to convert Naples into an independent principality for himself, he was recalled and disgraced.

Philip's affection for his all-powerful minister gradu-

ally chilled, more especially when by one of the theatrical incongruities of the Spanish church system, Lerma succeeded in donning a cardinal's hat, and Philip came to regard him with reverential awe and dread. The cardinal-duke vigorously opposed being degraded, but was forced to retire to a country-seat in 1618, whilst his arrogant favorite was arrested. The last years of Philip's life resound with echoes from Germany, where the Thirty Years' War had broken out. He is said to have died broken-hearted over the discovery of the unfortunate condition into which Spain had fallen, and his own helplessness to aid her. A profound melancholy preyed upon him, and though Spain still retained possession of the Duchy of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, and the fortresses on the African coast, her state seemed to him hopeless, and he died (1621) "a curse to the nation he governed."

One of his daughters had married the king of France, another became queen of Hungary. Of his three sons, Philip, Carlos, and Ferdinand, cardinal archbishop of Toledo, the first succeeded him as Philip IV., (1621-1665).

The life of Philip IV., lasted sixty years, forty-four of which were passed in the cares and responsibilities of royalty. Almost uninterrupted war kept his long reign in a ripple of excitement from its beginning to its close. A bigot and a voluptuary, "Philip the Great," as Spanish adulation dubbed him, soon left the duties of a sovereign to the favorite Olivares, the count-duke of the great family of the Guzmans. Olivares began by fining Lerma for malversation, executing Calderon for

a murder of which he was believed innocent, and throwing Ossuna into prison, where he died of disease. He renewed war with the United Provinces, sought the alliance of the emperor, and prevented England from interfering in behalf of the Palatinate by his project of a marriage between the prince of Wales and the Infanta. Both in the Indian and American seas, however, the fleets of the Netherlands rode triumphant, plundering treasure-ships, subduing the greater part of the Portuguese empire in India and Brazil, sacking Lima in Peru, taking possession of several of the West Indian island, and presenting the spectacle of a handful of half-submerged *amphibii* baffling the once boundless resources of the united Spanish empire.

The romantic visit of Charles, prince of Wales, seconded by the brilliant and volatile duke of Buckingham, charmed the stately Spaniards by its gallantry: but a quarrel between Buckingham and Olivares, and the undisguised licentiousness of Charles's companion, brought the negotiation to an end, and Charles ended by marrying Henrietta of Orleans, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and leaving the Infanta to be wedded later to the emperor's eldest son, afterwards Ferdinand III.

The count-duke first meddled in the affairs of the Milanese, then in an Italian war originating in the disputed succession of the duchy of Mantua, then in the Dutch and German wars, assisting the emperor against Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. In his Dutch intrigues he was no match for the accomplished and subtle Richelieu, prime minister of France, whom the reduction of the Huguenots, in 1635, left ample leisure to prepare

for and declare war against Spain on account of an attack by a Spanish army on the archbishop of Treves. Spain was signally successful in expelling the united invading armies of France and Holland from the Netherlands: on the Pyreneean frontier mutual invasions took place, with varying success. A fierce insurrection of the Catalans, due to the infraction of one of their im-



OLIVARES.

memorial privileges, in 1640, kept the whole of the Spanish forces at bay for thirteen years,—an insurrection occasioned by the tyranny of Olivares. Catalonia proclaimed itself a republic and claimed the protection of France; but the rebellion was subdued in 1652 by Don Juan, the king's natural son, after a fifteen months'

siege of Barcelona. The privileges of Catalonia — almost the last relics of Spanish liberty, — were ruthlessly destroyed, and a monarchy as absolute as that of Turkey rose upon their foundations. In 1640-64 Portugal threw off the yoke and proclaimed king the duke of Braganza as João IV., the legitimate descendant and representative of her ancient sovereigns. The abject impotence of Olivares and his minions was never more emphatically displayed than in this memorable transaction, the result of which he jocularly communicated to the king as follows: "The duke of Braganza has run stark mad; he has proclaimed himself king of Portugal. This folly will bring your majesty twelve millions in confiscations!"

France meanwhile had overrun the Netherlands; Prince Maurice took Breda; the superb military genius of Gustavus Adolphus brought Ferdinand to the brink of ruin in Germany, and was thwarted only by the extraordinary talents of Wallenstein, whom Schiller has immortalized; Gustavus, however, fell heroically at Lutzen, and Wallenstein was basely murdered at the instigation of Ferdinand.

Cardinal Richelieu's turbulent career closed in 1642, but his Machiavellian slippers were an exact fit for his successor, Mazarin. The great Condé was at the head of the French armies during the regency of Anne of Austria, and carried off the glorious victory of Rocroi over the Spaniards and Walloons, — a victory of mournful augury for the Spanish sovereignty in the Netherlands.

Though Olivares had accomplished some good by revoking the profuse grants of previous sovereigns, introducing sumptuary regulations, turning out "two-thirds

of the locusts in office," and increasing the revenues of the crown, his principle was self-adoration and personal aggrandizement. Agriculture, commerce, mechanical arts, declined pitifully under the profligate extravagances of the court. A conspiracy of weaklings and women, headed by the queen and the duchess of Mantua, wrought his ruin; and Olivares was exiled. In 1646 Massaniello's outburst at Naples came near costing Spain the loss of her Neapolitan dominions. He was a fisherman whose wife had been insulted, and who, inciting a rebellion, overpowered the viceroy and for ten days ruled despotically over Naples.

The final peace with the Netherlands in 1648 secured to this long-suffering land the blessings of independence, — acknowledged even by Spain, — and the retention of its conquests at home and in the West Indies. Dunkirk was taken with England's aid, then under the powerful administration of Cromwell; and the English wrested Jamaica from Spain as a further drop in the bitter cup of humiliation. But the difficulties between France and Spain were aided by Anne's affection for her brother, smoothed away by the celebrated treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1659, and a marriage: Louis XIV. was united with Philip's daughter, Maria Theresa, who renounced her rights to the Spanish crown as the eldest daughter of Philip's first wife. By the treaty Spain ceded Roussillon and Artois to France, — a further dismemberment, — and France evacuated all her conquests in Catalonia and elsewhere. The English war ceased with the restoration of Charles II. The Portuguese war alone dragged interminably along, till the effective battle of Villaviciosa, lost by the Spaniards; after which

there is the dramatic scene of Philip's receiving the tidings of the defeat, ejaculating, "It is the will of God!" and swooning away.

This defeat was his finishing blow, for he died shortly afterwards (1665), leaving the morbid hypochondriac Charles II., as a three-year-old legacy to the nation. His queen, assisted by a *junta*, was named regent. Of Philip it has been aptly said that his reign was, next to that of Roderic, the most disastrous in the annals of Spain. His life was a series of monumental failures on which were inscribed in characters of wormwood and flame: Catalonia, Roussillon, Jamaica, the Netherlands, Portugal.

He had several mistresses and numerous descendants by them, but of the children of his two lawful wives, the queen of France, Margaret of Hungary, and Don Carlos (Charles II.), alone survived him.

The next reign was inaugurated by a weak and jealous queen-dowager, who was wholly governed by a German Jesuit. This man was the inquisitor-general Nitard, who was hated by the nobles as an interloper, and more especially by the high-born and spirited Don Juan. Hence the beginning of a long period of intrigue and orgy which harassed the whole of Charles's reign. Louis XIV. began to develop his passion for conquest at the expense of his infant brother-in-law by attempting, contrary to all justice, to overrun the Netherlands. His dream of universal empire was, however, brief, for the Triple Alliance between England, the United Provinces, and Sweden, stayed his ambitious aspirations. He restored to Spain, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, most of his recent acquisitions. Don



**ROMAN BRIDGE AT RONDA.**

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Juan, supported by a powerful faction of nobles, secured the honorable dismissal of the Jesuit, who was sent off to Rome as ambassador, and obtained a cardinal's hat by the queen's influence. Don Juan was made viceroy of Aragon, and another favorite — this time a specious, handsome, and agreeable page of the duke of Infantado, Fernando de Valenzuelo — took the Jesuit father's place. A lover of bull-fights and courter of popular favor, it was whispered that his connection with his royal mistress — now over forty — was dishonorable. During his administration the United Provinces were in 1672 reduced almost to despair by the odious machinations of Louis, who, having detached Sweden and England from the Triple Alliance, rapidly overran the country. The savior of Dutch independence then rose, — William of Orange (afterwards king of England), — who, elected Stadtholder (the chief magistracy of the Seven Provinces), stemmed, in conjunction with Spain and Germany, the tide of Louis's successes. The active-minded Grand Monarque made incursions into Catalonia, incited rebellion in Sicily, and further devastated the Netherlands.

On the completion of his fourteenth year, — the majority prescribed by Spanish law, — Charles II., in 1675, began to govern in his own right. Tied to his mother's apron-strings and overawed by his uncle, the stormy-tempered Don Juan, who had now (1675) managed to get Valenzuelo banished to the Philippine Islands, the wretched Charles had not force enough to say that his soul was his own. His debilitated monarchy sank a step lower at the treaty of Nimwegen, in 1678, between France and the other European powers,

by which Louis retained Franche-Comté, formerly the county of Burgundy (till then one of the Netherland provinces). The death of Don Juan, in 1679, saw the last glimmer of genius in the Spanish-Austrian branch go out. He had alienated the king's affections by his harshness to the queen-mother ; had seen his intended reforms and improvements in agriculture, commerce, and finance brought to naught, and his popularity lost by his rigor in punishing peculation, signing a disadvantageous treaty, and arranging a match between Charles and the niece of the abhorred Louis XIV. Internally Spain was rapidly becoming a wreck. The nation was on the brink of insolvency, owing to the ignorant and incongruous laws regulating commerce, the adulteration of the precious metals, the shamelessness of official life, the fires, overflows, and storms that ravaged the land, the destruction of the ships in port, the unproductiveness of the tempest-beaten corn-fields, and the loss of life and property at Seville in an inundation. Transatlantic disputes with Portugal about boundary lines in Brazil ; another invasion of Catalonia by Louis, in 1689 ; the French bombardment of Barcelona and Alicante by sea ; the capture of Barcelona by Vendôme ; the succession to power of one incapable prime-minister after another, to stay the anarchy of the government and endeavor to hold up the hands of a trembling monarch who believed himself bewitched,—all this grating and hideous discord was relieved by the suave harmonies of the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, by which Louis unexpectedly restored to Spain all his conquests. So dramatic a magnanimity had its deep-lying cause. Charles's known impotence, even after his second mar-

riage with Marianne of Neuburg, left the Spanish throne open to the French line by virtue of Louis's marriage with Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV. There were several candidates, the most formidable of whom was the Dauphin of France, as Maria Theresa's eldest son ; then the Emperor Leopold, whose mother was the daughter of Philip III., and who was further descended from Ferdinand, brother of Charles V. ; and lastly, the electoral prince of Bavaria, whose mother was a daughter of Philip IV.

The dauphin's pretensions were vitiated by his mother's solemn renunciation of all claim to the crown of Spain for her issue, for fear that the two kingdoms might come to be united in one head, and thus imperil the European balance. But renouncing so noble an inheritance was no part of Louis's ambitious projects : there was the duke of Anjou, Philip, his grandson, who would occasion less apprehension to Europe. The impossibility, also, of ever again uniting Germany and Spain, brought Leopold to renounce his expectations in favor of his second son, the archduke Charles.

Hence the dismal death-bed of Charles II., surrounded as it was by the spirits of moping melancholy, mental feebleness, and triumphant superstition, became a focus whence radiated innumerable threads of intrigue across the Pyrenees and into the forests of Germany. Charles himself clung to his Austrian kin ; the queen supported the archduke ; the queen-mother, the prince of Bavaria. But the skilful manipulations of Louis's ambassador, the Marquis d'Harcourt, eventually turned the tables in favor of Philip of Anjou, though Charles had previously left his dominions by will to the electo-

ral prince. A sudden death put an end to the candidacy of the Bavarian. The dying king, left much with his confessor, who was bribed by Louis, turned more and more towards France, particularly as Pope Innocent XII. recommended the selection of the duke of Anjou, on condition of his solemnly giving up his French expectations. In October, 1700, after a long and bitter struggle, Charles, therefore, signed a will in favor of Philip, and leaving Spain in the very extremities of exhaustion and embarrassment, expired in November, 1700.

To the belief almost universally given to astrology and the black arts in Spain, at the end of the seventeenth century, the deeply religious king was no exception. He believed himself overshadowed by some awful influence of evil, and descended to practices at which one can but smile or weep. Pursuing that loathsome curiosity concerning things forbidden which was hereditary in his house, he descended into the clammy vaults of the pantheon of the Escorial, to visit the corpses of his ancestors. One after another he had their coffins opened, gazed at their decomposed countenances, and hung with shuddering intensity over the ghastly reminiscences of mortality, till, penetrated with horror and chilled with cold, he fled from their presence, and, it is supposed, hastened his near end by the emotion caused by this revolting scene.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE BOURBONS TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1700-1788).

#### REIGNS OF PHILIP V., FERDINAND VI., AND CHARLES III.

**I**T was probably a great blessing for Spain that from the bloody War of the Succession (1700-13) a Bourbon, and not a Habsburger had come forth victor. Philip V. was in some sense a rejuvenation, a personification of the lost youth of Spain, the upholder of a new system of government, a new scheme of administration, and a new mode of warfare. The measures and principles which had raised France under Colbert and Richelieu to the most brilliant of European ascendencies — the vigorous and stirring initiative of a united government, the promotion of trade and commerce, the unsparing abolition of abuses, in however limited a manner employed by him, at least brought Spain from its stagnant condition, opened a period of reform, and launched the country, under Ferdinand VI. and Charles III., on a career of comparative prosperity.

Philip's task was a difficult one; the absolute creation of an army and navy, a police, finances, legislation. It became indispensable to employ foreigners in nearly every branch of the government, at the head of the

army, and in the council-chamber. The abolition of the special privileges of Aragon, already so rudely shaken under Philip II., and the ensuing partial equalization through the provinces, of contributions for the maintenance of the government, threw down the wall which for ages had separated and antagonized Castile and Aragon. The absolute dominion of the king over the whole land, was felt not only in levying and increasing taxes, and in reforming the laws, but in stimulating scientific research; which had hitherto been unknown to Spaniards. "There was nothing in Newton that could make one a better logician or metaphysician, and the teachings of Aristotle were more in conformity with revealed truth than those of Gassendi," was a boast of one of their *savants*.

Europe saw with amazement, Spain — benumbed, motionless, dead — giving evidence of a life and persistency, a patience and inflexibility, under exhausting trial, which, even though accompanied by the loss of her Dutch and Italian possessions through the peace of Utrecht (1713), showed her in a light more favorable than for many years before.

A conflict with the church — that incarnation of boundless idleness, stupendous superstition, and monstrous ignorance that in the midst of the ruin of the nation possessed enormous wealth, meddled with the palace, the university, and the school alike, and ate out the very vitals of the country — began, and was so successful that the pretensions of the Roman See were clipped, the Spanish church even largely emancipated from Rome, and the very Inquisition menaced. Unfortunately Philip fell under the influence of an Italian wife

— Isabella Farnese ; he lapsed into the usual stupor and indifference of Spanish kings ; and all the picturesque stir and movement of the War of the Succession seemed to go out of his gloom-smitten life, leaving the Inquisition and the ancient abuses for the time triumphant. Injurious interference with Italian politics ensued as soon as the king felt himself strong enough ; Naples and Parma were reconquered, but at an extraordinary sacrifice of men and means.

A few figures will be pregnant interpreters of the Spanish art of governing. An annual income before the Italian wars, of two hundred and thirty-five million *reals*, sank to two hundred and eleven millions, against an annual expenditure of three hundred and thirty-six millions, payments on the public debt being excluded. The government was carried on at an expense of seventeen and one-half millions, while the court swallowed thirty-seven millions, and the fleet and army, two hundred and thirty-five millions. A theatrical Italian campaign — an imposing court full of spangled grandees — were the main amusement of the controlling classes ; justice, security, culture, material welfare, were contemptible secondary considerations.

Still, Philip's reign of forty-six years gave a very varied stimulus to the Spanish people. If the old and immemorial was not absolutely laid aside, it was undermined ; innovation became practicable ; inquiry was made whether this state of permanent crusade, of general beggary and vagabondage, of callous superstition, of idolatrous reverence for the church, was really leading to anything ; whether the fashion of the universe, or the fashion of Spain, was the more likely to

be correct. A gleam of doubt as to the infallibility of Spanish methods and Spanish traditions timidly penetrated the chinks of the Pyrenees. Contempt for what was foreign, absolute exclusion from the outside world, had been hitherto the mainspring of political life. The misery and humiliation of Charles II.'s reign had failed to rouse the inquiry whether Spain could profit by the lessons of other lands; it was left to a stranger to mount the throne and make foreign example beneficial to this benighted people.

Of course such a revolution of ancient modes of thought went on with painful slowness, as it must do in descending from the upper to the lower classes. The church still fattened; the cloisters grew; ecclesiastical authority was profoundly revered; the most important of Philip's ministers, Patiño, had been a Jesuit; and the state was still a secondary affair. But Philip kept up his intimacy with the enlightened Macanáz, who had fled abroad from the clutches of the Inquisition; he founded the great academy which has done so much for Spanish literature and lexicography; and he encouraged foreign artists, scholars, and manufacturers to settle in Spain, while sending some of his own subjects abroad to study. Spanish science no longer remained a contradiction in terms. Imaginative tendencies like those embodied in the multitudinous fancies of Lope and Calderon, now exhaled in the cold, clear light of eighteenth century criticism: the frost of innumerable Boileaus lay on that century. Realities emerged out of that confused and complex state in which, hitherto, feeling, passion, subjectivity, declamation had given the tone to Spanish art and poetry; and

Spain seemed gradually to recover her consciousness of the world of fact. Scientific criticism, economic research, comparison between European and peninsular conditions resulted from the new life brought into the nation.

The Benedictine monk, Feyjoó, fought nobly in behalf of his country's enlightenment, ridiculed the prev-



PHILIP V.

alent notions about comets and matters of science, made the universities, where the texts had not changed since the days of Ximénes, smart for their maintenance of the obsolete scholastic philosophy; and scourged the pride, mendicancy, and conservatism of the provinces, with caustic yet kindly severity. Thus, under Philip V., seeds of reform and regeneration were cautiously

though surely scattered, waiting only for propitious circumstances to germinate. The old order, without being revolutionized, received a gentle but powerful shock, which roused men out of the lethargic apathy of the Habsburger times, and made them at least curiously forebode new things.

Thus prepared, Spain came, in 1746, under the guidance of Ferdinand VI.—a small, anxious-minded, weakly, hypochondriacal man, of whom nobody expected anything for the advancement of the country. But the people were mistaken. His pacific and benevolent disposition gave the country thirteen years of quiet and happiness. In this brooding period, for the first time, the germs sown in the previous reign put forth into life; unfinished enterprise was carried further; the system of taxation transformed; the interests of the population, of industrial and productive undertakings, furthered; roads built; harbors restored; intercourse with America regulated; the purification of the law courts, the interest in science and education, stimulated. For the first time since Isabella of Castile, the government had money, which was employed for the good of the commonwealth. The clever ministers, Ensenada and Carvajal, introduced a noteworthy activity into all branches of the public service. The destructive farming of the revenues was abolished; the burden of the *Alcavala*, or tax on food, and of indirect taxation, lightened; the customs system reformed, for the benefit of the agricultural and industrial classes; regularity in providing for the interest on the national debt, and in the payment of salaries introduced; internal communication rendered practicable by the construction of highways and the establishment

of a certain public security; shipbuilding, increase of the marine service, and foreign trade encouraged. Between 1737 and 1760, the revenues had increased from two hundred and eleven millions (*reals*) to three hundred and fifty-two millions, despite the lightening of the taxes, and apart from the immense sums, often amounting to five hundred millions, accruing from American sources. Instead of a deficit of one hundred and twenty-five millions in the expenditures, there was a surplus of eighty-five millions. In 1737, the army had cost one hundred and eighty-eight millions; in 1760, ninety millions sufficed. The navy now consisted of forty-four ships of the line, fifteen frigates, and twenty-two other ships, costing sixty millions instead of fifty-one millions. The whole government expenses in 1737 had been eked out with the miserable sum of seventeen and one-half millions, whereas now, almost that sum was employed in the department of justice alone, and the whole expense of running the government ran up to seventy-eight millions.

Of a thorough-going reform of ecclesiastical abuses, however, under Ferdinand as under Philip, there was but little talk. In 1749, the statistics show one hundred and eighty thousand persons belonging to the clerical class, among whom one hundred and twelve thousand belonged to orders. The same numbers held good at the beginning of the seventeenth century, so that at least the clergy had not increased in proportion to the rest of the population, which had grown a million and a half. The extent of the domain of the church was, however, still prodigious. It enjoyed a revenue of three hundred and fifty-nine millions — a sum equal to the entire revenue of the state. Ensenada told the king that “the

monstrous number of monks and clerics was highly injurious to the state, that the councils, and even the popes, had declared that the only method of obtaining virtuous monks and nuns was, to permit but a small number of each." But opinions were of little avail. The bishops and chiefs of orders went on as before, giving the finishing touch in affairs of state, and even declaring, in *junta* assembled, that the state was not obligated to pay the debts incurred in the previous reign. However, the famous *concordat* of 1753 was an important victory for Spain over Rome. By this agreement the ancient Spanish privilege, that the crown must supervise church appointments, was re-established, and the nominations from Rome reduced from twelve thousand to fifty-two. The one thousand victims of Inquisitorial torment in the previous reign were reduced to ten only under Ferdinand. The Jesuits burned with indignation at the satire of "Brother Gerund," a remarkable work by Father Isla, condemned, indeed, by the Inquisition, but universally read and appreciated for its truth and wit. A band of clever scholars appeared; natural science was cautiously cultivated; and everywhere progress was visible.

The accession of Charles III. to the throne, in 1759, after having already gained invaluable experience in his five-and-twenty years' reign as king of Naples, gave admirable fruition to all these dimly-working agencies. Well-educated in history and mathematics, and full of the spirit of French and Italian literature, full of interest, also, for scientific questions though fervently orthodox in his religious beliefs, he had gained insight into the principles and policy of government, and saw that

church and state must be divorced if either was to thrive. He resented the illegalities of the inquisitor-general, who looked upon his office as co-equal with the crown. In 1762 he compelled all papal promulgations



CHARLES III.

with regard to Spain to be first submitted to the crown for its sanction. His unhappy hatred of England and his ambition, however, entangled him in the family alli-

ance of the Bourbons, and caused him in the first years of his government to suffer a humiliating defeat. But an era in which Pombal was working so powerfully against the Jesuits of Portugal, and Frederic the Great was so gloriously upholding the cause of enlightenment in Germany, could not but affect Spain sympathetically. The Italian ministers of the king, Squilaci and Grimaldi, ruthlessly combated the old system ; in the ministries and higher offices the reformers multiplied ; bigotry and sloth in the upper classes became less intense ; and in the struggle between complete reform and complete and irrecoverable reaction, Charles happily chose the former. The Jesuits were expelled from Spain, and their order abolished by Clement XIV., in 1773, a victory largely due to the shrewd energy of the Spanish ambassador, Moniño, afterwards Count Floridablanca. Incalculable results followed from this great step ; ecclesiastical interference in secular affairs was stemmed ; the beggary and licentiousness of the countless brotherhoods restrained ; the church monopoly in educational matters, its right to submit all literary productions to a manifold censorship, the astounding impertinence of Roman pretensions to jurisdiction over the Spanish church, checked.

The chief agents in these memorable reforms were the Counts Aranda, Floridablanca, and Campomanes. They represent the essential elements and tendencies which then impelled the peninsula forward. Aranda, a grandee of Aragon and a military man of high position, was thoroughly conversant with French politics and culture, a personal friend of Voltaire, a nucleus for the Spanish type of French radicalism, and a passionate

champion of the French alliance. He was the terror of the reactionists, the high-priest of reform, the avenger of the injured majesty of the king, the castigator of unbridled license, and the enemy of the Jesuits, whom he drove out of Spain in one day. His distinguished birth and military position, too, gave his reforms an aspect of *bon ton* duly appreciated by the proudest nation in Europe. Yet his frivolity and irreligious taint at length displeased the conservative-tempered king and his people, and Aranda was pushed aside for Campomanes, an Asturian villager, the exact opposite of the grandee of Aragon.

With a spirit of universal intelligence, a character marked by the purest unselfishness and consistency, a heart full of love for his people and patriotism for his native land, Campomanes was more familiar with European culture than even Aranda, while he did not overvalue it. Profoundly imbued with the historic sense, and with an intimate acquaintance with the past career of his country, he knew that every people, however richly it may learn from foreign lands, has to follow the laws of its own peculiar development, conditioned as they are by manifold circumstances. A friend of national and local independence and self government, he appealed to public opinion and enlightened patriots. His literary activity was wonderful, and it was chiefly directed to eradicating the distorted views of life, the beggarly arrogance, the unctuous idleness, the contempt for labor and utility prevalent in Spain. As author and as president of the council of Castile, as president of the academy of history and as financier, his attention covered the whole ground of public polity,

purifying and reforming. The immoderate possessions of the clergy arising from *mortmain*, the extension of cloister-building, the protection given by the church to privileged, immemorial beggary, the harmful prerogatives of the great cattle and sheep companies, the guilds, and the havens, the degradation of the universities, and the absurd neglect of mathematical, economical, and scientific studies, were bitterly opposed by him. But his sagacious mind told him that he must not revolutionize — that he must first gain public opinion to his side — that he must tranquillize and illuminate, not outrage it. Hence, in its century of most absolute absolutism, Spain became covered with patriotic societies, which placed at the free disposal of the government, the help of the educated: intelligent insight, useful, practical knowledge were disseminated, and the country, emerging from the murk and wreck of the Habsburgers, began to work its way cheerfully toward the light.

In 1777 Floridablanca, a highly-endowed and widely-cultured man, succeeded Campomanes in the cares of prime-minister. He differed from both of his remarkable predecessors. Though free from bigotry, he was at the same time opposed to the radicalism of the French School. Though he combated the church with his sharpest weapons when he considered its encroachments dangerous to the state, he made common cause with it so soon as the church submitted to his conceptions of a benignant absolutism. The yeasty fermentation of Aranda's principles was as repugnant to him as Campomanes' subtle but perilous education of the masses in self-government, civilization, and learning. He was a

great policeman and bureaucrat rather than a great statesman, — an incarnation of the eighteenth century's passion for material interests, development of the powers of the state, cabal, commanding below and obeying above, autocratic selfishness. Both king and minister had in view an unconditional maintenance of the authority of the crown ; and both admired strict orthodoxy.

Such reforms as had been in preparation for two generations met great difficulties in the tough and unchanging middle class. The heads of departments were able men, but detail work, application of principles to practice, shattered against the colossal reefs of indolence, ignorance, and official corruption. The higher nobility were hardly to be moved out of their attachment to empty external pomp ; they could hardly be induced to take an interest in educating either themselves or the masses. The thousands of pompous prebendaries, the tens of thousands of superstitious, unemployed, and careless monks, clung to the old order of things, which was their very existence. And the only immediate result of so much anxious preparation seemed to be that Spaniards were less fanatical, less proud of imagined excellences, more ready to follow a new order of things than a hundred years ago. The attempts to manufacture the products of the country, to start the mines again, to revive business by the building of canals and turnpikes, to repress mendicancy by the establishment of houses of correction, swallowed huge sums without immediate beneficial consequences.

The magnificent saltpetre works at Madrid, for instance, lost something like three *reals* on every pound of material. The great spinning establishment erected

by the archbishop of Toledo for the employment of the poor, ended in disaster. Hundreds of millions were spent on roads which were left unfinished. Numberless speculators spread their mazy nets over the land. The census of 1787 showed indeed a considerable decrease in the clergy, and the convents were reduced one-third in number as compared with the seventeenth century; but the ninety-five thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine persons who lived in three thousand one hundred and eighty-nine convents, were a frightful burden to bear. Among the seventy thousand secular clergy, there were only twenty-two thousand priests. The elementary schools were visited by only one-tenth of the youth. Though the population had nearly doubled (10,268,150) in one hundred years, yet sixteen hundred and eleven once inhabited places now lay waste, and out of every thirteen houses, one was, even according to Spanish ideas, uninhabitable. The thirty years of reform had in 1787 increased the revenues only to four hundred millions reals, and expenses ran beyond income by more than one hundred millions. The two foolish wars with England compelled the issue of the *vales reales*, a paper currency bearing interest at four per cent., four hundred and fifty millions of which, with interest amounting to eighteen millions, circulated down to 1783. Instead of providing for the payment of these obligations in the succeeding years of peace, they were increased to meet the expenses of roads and canals. A later calculation showed the national debt bequeathed by Charles III. to be *two milliards* of reals. Deficit henceforth became a regular part of each administration, though trade with America increased wonderfully after

all the Spanish ports — hitherto it had been confined to Cadiz — were permitted to compete for it.

Still, great things had happened in Spain since the reactionary revolt of 1766. The state had emancipated itself from the church, and was striving to counteract the church's injurious influence on the masses. The people uninterruptedly pressed forward. The measures of the government, the performances of literature, the watchfulness of public opinion showed continually a welcome growth. The nation had wound its way out of the labyrinths of Habsburger politics, and found itself abreast of many of its European compeers.

The death of Charles III. in December 1788, closed the period of reform in Spain. The reign of his successor, Charles IV., was a twenty years' preparation for revolution.

So much for the general considerations growing out of a survey of these three important reigns. A more precise, though brief enumeration of dates and facts will be necessary to make our sketch intelligible.

The War of the Succession between Philip of Anjou, the testamentary heir of Charles II., and the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor Leopold of Germany, who also claimed the succession, is the first great event that meets us at the threshold of Philip V.'s reign. In it Charles, assisted by the Portuguese and English, more than once drove Philip from his capital and seemed on the point of establishing himself as king. But Philip was deeply rooted in the affections of his adopted people; they fought nobly for him, and the obstinate struggle was only ended by the election of the archduke as successor to his brother. Prince

Eugene's brilliant successes in Italy over the French, at the beginning of the war, had much to do with the formation of the anti-Gallican Grand Alliance in 1701, between England, Holland, and Austria, for the purpose of preventing the union of the two crowns of France and Spain on one head. Louis's great antagonist, William III. of England, however, died in 1702, leaving the country to Anne. Assisted by the counsels of Godolphin and Marlborough, the queen became formidable to Louis; Cadiz was plundered by an English armament, and the "plate fleet" from America destroyed during Philip's absence in the Italian campaign; Charles III., as the archduke called himself, landed at Lisbon with eight thousand men; and Philip's cause looked gloomy. Marshal Berwick, a natural son of James II. by Marlborough's sister, commanded Louis's auxiliaries in Spain, and the duke of Vendôme began to check the victorious career of Prince Eugene in Italy. In 1704, Sir George Rooke executed the memorable capture of Gibraltar, which has ever since remained in the hands of the English. But the great battles to which the War of the Succession owes its celebrity, were fought in Germany and the Netherlands, where Marlborough commanded with sixty thousand troops. The battle of Blenheim in 1704 relieved the emperor from impending ruin, immortalized Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and menaced the French with annihilation. The fantastic Peterborough, with his bold, able, and skilful tactics in Spain, greatly aided the cause of the archduke. Barcelona fell by a daring stratagem of Lord Peterborough's, and almost the whole of Murcia, Valencia, and eastern Spain acknowl-

aged Charles. Barcelona was again besieged by Philip, reduced to the last extremity, but relieved at the critical moment by an English fleet. Saragossa and Madrid fell under Peterborough's eccentric and dashing manœuvres; the splendid and decisive battle of Ramilies in the Netherlands, in 1706, crowned Marlborough's arms with glory.

In the panoramic shiftings of the war, Philip soon returned to Madrid, Charles was soon driven into Catalonia; Louis positively rejected all demands of the Grand Alliance that he should compel his grandson to abdicate, declaring that if he must make war, it should not be against his own children; though the sanguinary battle of Malplaquet, in 1709, won by Marlborough and Prince Eugene over marshal Villars and the French, caused him to repent. The Czar Peter of Russia, and Charles XII. of Sweden, were meanwhile in the north, waging their terrible wars, and threatening to involve one or another of the German states in their disputes. In the south, Philip had again (1710) fled from Madrid. But the death of the emperor, Joseph I., left his throne vacant to his brother Charles; and as the Grand Alliance had never contemplated the union of all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, Spanish and German, under one crown, the peaceful solution of the question was now accomplished. By the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, Philip was acknowledged king of Spain and the Indies; Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Netherlands were assigned to the emperor; Sicily fell to the Duke of Savoy; England retained her conquests of Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, and Hud-

son's Bay; and the emperor was obliged to recall his troops from Catalonia.

Scrofula carried off the king's first wife, Maria Louisa, in 1714. Philip abandoned himself to squalor and despair, and could only be roused by the Princess Orsini, the favorite of his wife, who proposed another match (Isabella Farnese). A woman of unrivalled conversational powers, tact, and eloquence, Orsini had exercised undisturbed ascendancy over the queen, and as Louis's tool influenced Spanish politics at all points. Her savage treatment by the new queen, and expulsion to France in the depths of winter, is one of the common-places of Spanish history. Louis's death in 1715 brought Isabella's truly Italian genius for intrigue into luxuriant play. In 1724, Philip abdicated in favor of his son Luis, — it is supposed with the hope of acquiring the sovereignty of France on the expected death of Louis XV. The French king, however, recovered; Don Luis was carried off by the small-pox after a reign of eight months; and Philip, who had taken a solemn and irrevocable vow never to resume the crown, found it convenient to forget. His morbid melancholy so increased between 1730 and 1734, that he would lie in bed for months, and, like Juana, refuse to attend to any sort of business. In the Italian campaign of 1733-5 Naples and Sicily were reconquered by the young duke of Parma, Philip's eldest son. Spain concurred in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1738-9, by which the Archduchess Maria Theresa was guaranteed the right of succession to the Austrian dominions of her father, Charles VI. War with England broke out in 1739, owing to commercial disputes growing out of the treaty of Utrecht. The

death of Charles VI. in 1740 was the signal for a general explosion around the heroic figure of Maria Theresa, who, empress-queen in consequence of her husband's election as emperor in 1746, worsted both France and Spain in their efforts to support the Bourbon claim to the imperial throne.



MARIA LOUISA.

A sudden fit of apoplexy carried off Philip in 1746, before he could obtain help either from medicine or confessor. Though Alberoni and Ripperdà — the latter one of the most extraordinary adventurers of which history gives any account — were not specially able or

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honest ministers, they improved the country, rehabilitated to some extent the army and navy, and assisted Philip in his undeniable desire to govern well.

The king spent enormous sums in building a Spanish Versailles in the clouds — San Ildefonso, or La Granja, whose magnificent fountains and gardens still hang, four thousand feet above the sea, on the acclivities of the Guadarramas. It is a fairy palace about which sparkle the purest mountain waters: great avenues of pine; silver and purple peaks; an immeasurable plain outspread in front; an ancient château filled with the quaint tapestries, clocks, and furniture of the time of Louis XV.; long garden-vistas, down which gleam brilliant masses of sculptured marble in frolicking water; — such are San Ildefonso and its surroundings.

At thirty-eight, when he succeeded to the throne, Ferdinand VI. did not give promise of so long and stirring a reign as his father. Nor, in fact, did his irresolute, indolent, amiable life last beyond thirteen years after his accession. He was fortunate in possessing an excellent wife — Barbara of Portugal — whose sense compensated for her homeliness. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, closed the war in which Maria Theresa, France, England, and Spain had been so long engaged. Henceforth Ferdinand lived in peace, devoted his attention to improving the agriculture, trade, and manufactures of Spain, opposing an enlightened opposition: — though Bourbon to the bone — to the Inquisition, and building up the resources of his exhausted country. He was tolerably fortunate, too, in the selection of his ministers. The Marquis de la Ensenada, a peasant, banking-clerk, and financier, rose to be minister

of marine, war, and finance. Attached to France, he was a friend of the avaricious queen, and by her influence and that of the celebrated singer, Farinelli, was retained in office. It was to the enchantment of Farinelli's music that Philip had owed his recovery from an almost hopeless attack of hypochondria. The singer's exquisite voice had charmed the king out of his filthy couch, where he had lain for months neglected and half raving with gloom. Ferdinand and his queen were both music-worshippers; they retained Farinelli, and his influence was unbounded, though "I am a musician, not a politician," said he, when one tried to bribe him.

Don José de Carvajal, Ferdinand's other minister, was a man of solid judgment and sound sense, pure, just, and incorruptible. His opposition to French influence counterbalanced Ensenada's inclination in that direction.

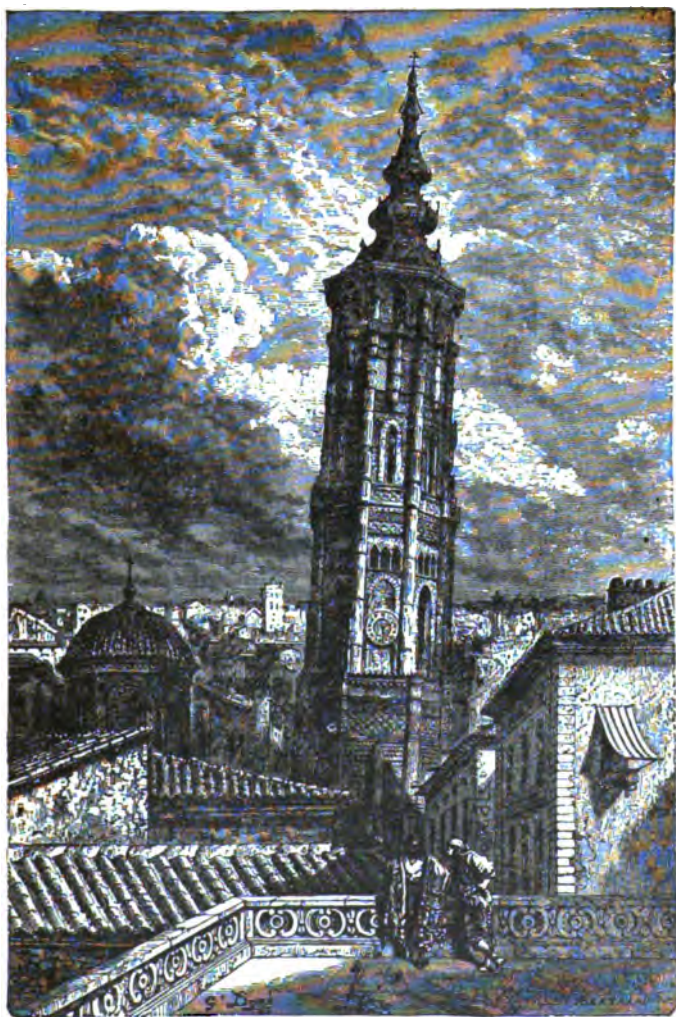
The revolt and reduction of the seven Jesuit settlements in Paraguay, in 1750, attracted attention to the power of that immense Catholic organization in the New World. These settlements had been founded with great toil, expense, and judgment by Jesuit missionaries sent out to convert the Indians, bring them under civilized institutions, and teach them the elements of knowledge. The proposed cession of the settlements to Portugal in exchange for Nova Colonia—a remote colony—caused the revolt.

The horrible earthquake of Lisbon, in 1755, preceded Ferdinand's death by four years, and caused the whole population of the city to live in tents or huts throughout the winter. The disgrace of Ensenada ensued on the discovery that he had sent out secret orders to the West

Indies to attack the English logwood settlements on the Musquito coast. Spain kept aloof from the general European war of 1756, in which England and Prussia ranged themselves against the empire, France, Russia, Sweden, and Poland. William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, rose to eminence at this period, and courted the alliance of Spain so earnestly that he even offered Ferdinand Gibraltar if he would deviate from his neutrality and join England.

The death of Queen Barbara in 1758 threw the king into agonies of grief, from which he never recovered. His death in 1759, childless, opened the way for his brother, Don Carlos (Charles III.), king of the Two Sicilies. Perhaps Charles did not find this loss so irreparable when he discovered that his brother's economy had left fifteen millions of dollars in the treasury. The abolition of papal patronage had also relieved his subjects from an unendurable evil. In 1759 the Jesuits, who were supposed to have been implicated in the plot to murder King José of Portugal, were proscribed and banished by the weakest and most bigoted court in Europe.

Charles III.'s long reign was crowded with important events. His eldest son was an epileptic idiot who could not succeed to the Italian dominions, which were therefore settled upon his third son, Ferdinand, proclaimed king of the Sicilies. Charles banished Farinelli, installed his Neapolitan favorite, Marquis Squilaci, made provision for the payment of the national debt, which had been neglected by the economical Ferdinand, and after the death of his gentle queen, Amelia of Saxony, in 1760, plunged into the first of his disastrous wars



**THE LEANING TOWER OF SARAGOSSA.**

inflammation, and feigned inability to carry on the government any longer. Grimaldi tightened the links between France and Spain and the other royal families of Europe, by forging new and more complicated matrimonial chains. The favorite Squilaci's career ended with the famous Sombrero-and-Manta revolution of 1766.

He had tried to quell the incessant assassinations occurring in the capital, by bringing about the abolition of the huge *sombreros* and voluminous *mantas* which the dangerous classes affected, and by means of which they could either effectually disguise themselves or carry concealed weapons with impunity. A storm of indignation ensued, intensified by his efforts to clean the disgusting filth of the capital, regulate the price of food, and light the city. Both king and favorite fled the town; the intended abolition was not carried out; and the mob triumphed. The Count de Aranda succeeded Grimaldi. From the zealous protector of the Jesuits, Charles became their implacable enemy, after his mind had been artfully poisoned by insinuations that they were the prime agents in the Madrid insurrection. They were cruelly expelled at midnight, in March 1767, and departed in thousands to Italy and Corsica. Charles's course was followed by the duke of Parma and the king of the Sicilies. To the universal prayer that they might be permitted to return, Charles was inflexible, and the Order of Jesus was formally suppressed by Clement XIV., in 1773.

Aranda introduced many reforms in army and navy, and adopted the system of tactics invented by Frederic the Great. His efforts to liberalize Spanish ideas were

unremitting: he limited the monstrous privileges of sanctuary, by which almost any criminal could flee for safety to almost any one of the innumerable churches in the kingdom; he opposed an audacious front to the Inquisition; he rooted out haunts of robbers and *banditti*, and established a colony of intelligent Germans, Swiss, and Italians in the Sierra Morena. His revolutionary tendencies, however, were so marked that they caused his removal, and many of his best reforms were brought to naught.

Louis XVI., husband of the fascinating Marie Antoinette, had now succeeded to the throne of France. In Spain, Don José Moniño, afterwards created count Floridablanca (1775), had become prime minister. The never-ending disputes with Portugal over the Brazilian colonies were accommodated by the cession of Nova Colonia to Spain, and the securing of an offensive and defensive alliance between the hitherto bitter enemies. The outbreak of the American War of Independence had its reverberations all over the globe. France joined the United States (1778); Spain kept aloof for a while, but in 1779 frivolously declared war against England. A rebellion in the wealthy transatlantic provinces of Spain, which had been so tranquil under Philip V. and Ferdinand VI., however, kept the government inactive. An alarming insurrection, provoked by the exactions of the *corregidores*, and headed by the so-called Inca, Tupac-Amaru, broke out in Peru, but was crushed in 1781-2. The Spaniards took the Bahama Islands in 1782; but Gibraltar, which had now been blockaded three years, proved impregnable. The capture of this mighty rock was Charles's passionate

wish. "Is Gibraltar taken?" was his first question every morning. The American war was drawing to a close (1782). Spain, realizing that her navy had been nearly annihilated and that twenty millions sterling had been added to her debt, signed the preliminaries of peace in 1783. In June, 1786, ended the millennium of war in which she had been engaged with the Mahometans, by which a peace was brought about between Algiers and the peninsula, piratical incursions from Barbary put an end to, and thousands of Spaniards, who had been pining in hopeless slavery, liberated.

Internal regulations and foreign negotiations; efforts to recover Gibraltar; to meddle in German politics at the death of Frederic the Great, in 1786; disapprobation of the projected quadruple alliance of Russia, Austria, France, and Spain; relaxation of the irksome intimacy between the two Bourbon courts; and nervous horror of French republicanism, now frightfully on the increase by the success of America; the financial embarrassments of the French government, and the assembling of the long-discontinued states-general, filled up the remaining years of Charles's life. Spain, however, had gradually become saturated with French ideas and French philosophy. Literature, the new school of statesmanship, the relaxation of the censorship of the press, the starving of the Inquisition, hitherto so abundantly fed with Jews and Protestants, all showed progress. Roads and canals, employment of cultivated aliens in the ministries, the establishment of a public bank, the introduction of an effective police, the utilization of the clergy in providing for the poor, — such

were some of the enduring monuments of Florida-blanca's beneficent rule.

Charles died in 1788, seventy-three years of age, within a month of his favorite son, Don Gabriel, who fell a victim to the prejudice against inoculation.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. — REIGNS OF CHARLES IV. AND FERDINAND VII.

THE twenty years between the death of Charles III. and the abdication of his ignoble son, in 1808, form one of the most dismal episodes of Spanish history. The brilliant eminence to which Spain had gradually attained under Campomanes, Aranda, and Floridablanca suffered disastrous eclipse; the slowly-healing wounds of a nation rent by uncontrolled passions, by a long course of wretched despotism, by moral evils without name or number, were torn open again; favoritism reigned supreme; an imbecile sat on the throne; and a weak, passionate, and criminal Italian queen scandalized Europe by the open profligacy of her morals.

Charles IV. was already forty years of age at his accession (1788), and physically was a singularly handsome and stately specimen of kingship. His good-nature and absolute ignorance permitted the reins of government to glide imperceptibly into the hands of Maria Louisa, princess of Parma, his wife, — a clever, inventive, ambitious, and voluptuous Machiavelli in petticoats, who made of the palace a den of vice, and ruled the country with a rod of iron. Floridablanca

and his companions soon retreated into the background; in 1790 the great minister found himself compelled to give up the portfolio of justice; Count Cabarrus, a zealous and successful promoter of reforms, was arrested; and Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellános, the noblest patriot, profoundest thinker, and most eminent writer that Spain had produced in the eighteenth century, was removed from his influential position at Madrid and banished to the Asturias. Campomanes fell in 1791, and was succeeded by a feeble creature of the court.

Thus the influence of the queen had extinguished every spark of decency and respectability that still illumined this tempestuous court. The government became the sport of chaotic caprice. Decrees promulgated to-day were revoked to-morrow. Lawlessness, arbitrary power, intrigue reigned in the palace and throughout the kingdom. The mighty murmurs of the revolution over the Pyrenees were unheeded, or misunderstood, with idiotic obtuseness or complacency. Spain and her vast colonial empire lay exposed to the ravages of France and England. The monstrous misgovernment so transformed the land, that in a few years the prosperous Spain of Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. was hard to recognize. Thousands of greedy fingers hunted in the treasury. Whole towns and provinces — as in Galicia in 1790 — were in rebellion for months, without any one being able to bring them to order. Even Floridablanca had his head turned by the “French madness,” — the horror of innovation, hatred of foreigners, and revolution, — and became a dark reactionist and progress-hater. The

foreign policy of Spain was a mass of ridiculous errors and inconsistencies. Recalled to power in 1792, it seemed as if Floridablanca, deep as his dread of French radicalism had made him sink in the slums of reaction, would reorganize and restore the country, and govern with the power and intelligence he had shown under Charles III. But he was removed the same year, a victim of the furious accusations of the queen. His rival, Aranda, the representative of the Aragonese party of progress, peace, and French ideas, took his place, and was intended by the queen to pave the way for her frivolous favorite, Manuel Godoy, — a young officer whom she adored, made a “grandee of the first class,” and, to the scandal of the aristocracy, visited in his own palace. “The grandees grumbled, and — crept to the feet of the favorite.” Aranda was graciously dismissed at the end of the year, and Godoy, now duke of Alcudia, took the control of the ministry as secretary of state for foreign affairs.

It was fortunate for the French revolution that, at the period when it broke out, a set of kings sat on the various thrones of Europe about as effective as a chorus of Aristophanic frogs. In this the revolution found its justification. Frederic the Great had been followed by Frederic William II.; Leopold II. by Kaiser Franz; Charles III. of Spain by Charles IV.; and George III. of England was to be revealed to the world by the glowing pen of Miss Burney. How differently might the course of the revolution have fashioned itself, had it found opponents of the greatness of Frederic II., the wisdom of Leopold, and the quiet dignity of Charles III! In Spain, rooted as she was

in century-old adoration of her reforming Bourbon kings, four years — 1788–1792 — sufficed to extinguish the last recollection of the beneficent works of three generations; and with the shadow of Aranda wholesome progress, the enlightenment of the people, the revival of agriculture and industry, the purification of legislation, the protection of lawful freedom, the control of officials, and the establishment of the authority of the government, passed away, and left behind only confusion, despotic power, unmitigated license, a throng of hateful lickspittles, and the depraved spectacle of an obscene queen and her lover. So low did Spain sink, that the revolutionary convention paid no attention to her pressing desire for the mitigation of the fate of Louis XVI.

The murder of the most Christian king by a godless mob produced an extraordinary sensation in Spain, and the land rang with cries of vengeance, from Cadiz to Barcelona. The queen gave way to tears; the king swore; Godoy spoke like a hero; Catalonia, Andalusia, Valencia, Galicia stormed the throne with their impassioned petitions for war against the regicides, — and nothing was done. Spain, with intense loyalty and love of the dynasty, rose as one man, with an enthusiasm really sublime, — grandees, beggars, clergy, bankers, corporations, — and demanded vengeance on the Bourbon massacrers. What an incomparable opportunity for the young duke and the queen to atone for the past, satisfy the great claims of the present, secure a worthy future for themselves and the faithful nation who, with such touching and unreserved confidence, thronged round the throne and supplicated their even still be-

loved rulers to lead them against the hosts of French terrorism!

But nothing was done either towards a restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France or an extension of the Spanish possessions. Held in check by the united powers of Austria, England, Prussia, and Spain, in 1793, the revolutionary armies remained for a while stationary; and Godoy let the priceless opportunity slip, at the cost of eight hundred and sixty millions of *reals* in the first six months of the war, while exposing the boasted Spanish prowess to the ridicule of Europe. The foaming excitement of the people died away, and was succeeded by a deep depression at the prospect of an endless war which would complete the financial ruin of the land. The French inundated Guipuzcoa and Navarre; several all-important frontier fortresses capitulated; the valleys of Upper Catalonia were thick with enemies. Incompetent generals, ruined finances, a worthless soldiery, plunged the loyal and credulous nation into despair. A conspiracy was discovered in June, 1794, whose object was the downfall of the corrupt Godoy, to whose criminal ambition, incapacity, and baleful influence on the queen the humiliation and demoralization of Spain were attributed. The royal residence soon swarmed with symptoms of revolutionary sympathies, due to the eloquence of the royal immorality, the French pamphlets and proclamations, and to the hopeless bewilderment caused by rumors of a hostile march on Madrid. The flight of the king's family from Madrid to Seville was spoken of in 1794. Between 1795 and 1802 Spain became virtually a vassal of her powerful neighbor. The queen, at first an enthu-

siastic adherent of the war-party, was in a few months transformed, by the defeat of the Spanish arms, into as enthusiastic an adherent of peace. Godoy resolved to seek relations with the republic; too late, however, to avoid exposing to France and England the disintegration going on in the provinces, and the powerlessness of the omnipotent favorite. One shameful overthrow after another annihilated Godoy's forces in Catalonia, while he buried himself in a whirl of giddy dissipations and extravagance. The conclusion of peace at Basel in July, 1795, — signed by Godoy a year after, — accompanied by favorable conditions (evacuation of the territory by the French, intimate alliance with the republic, and the cession to France of the Spanish side of San Domingo), gave universal content. Godoy bore off triumphantly the title of "Prince of Peace," supported by gifts of the richest state domains; while Aranda, Floridablanca, Cabarrus, and Jovellanos, who had been languishing in exile or prison, were recalled or released.

The peace of Basel, so far as Spain was concerned, was a bit of sublime farce. What it really established was not the glory, but the absolute dependence of the peninsula on the republic. In this it was happily aided by the inimitable frivolity of the Prince of Peace; and its consequences were the gradual annihilation of the naval power of the country, the undermining of its immense colonial network, and the complete wreck of the finances. What compatibility could there be between their Catholic majesties — the most absolute type of Bourbons — and the revolutionary French republic, at the very moment red with the gore of the Bourbons

themselves? The treaty of San Ildefonso, as the Spaniards call it, was both a literal repetition of the Family Compact of 1761, and in many not unessential points — being both offensive and defensive — went beyond that celebrated defensive alliance.

The battle of Cape St. Vincent, in February, 1797, between the English and Spanish fleets off the south point of Portugal, resulted, in spite of the immense superiority of the Spaniards in ships and artillery, in the defeat of their fleet, and contributed more than anything else to the ruin of the Spanish marine. The English swept the Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Caribbean. The colonies, which had thriven so wonderfully under the tranquil despotism of the *corregidores* and Jesuits began to ignite from the revolutionary sparks thrown off by the mighty volcano in France. English intrigue sealed the doom of the colonies, and sowed seed of discord and discontent, soon to bear abundant fruit. The vicious and despotic administration of Godoy crowned the anarchy of the Indies and Sierras. Between 1793 and 1796, the total income was twenty-four hundred and forty-five millions of *reals*; the total expenses, thirty-seven hundred and fourteen millions, leaving a debt of over twelve hundred millions. Paper money to the amount of nineteen hundred and eighty millions was already in circulation. The deficit in one year amounted to eight hundred millions of *reals*.

A galling satire which rang like a clarion through the country after the battles of San Vincent and Trinidad, depicts the matchless confusion of the times. It stated that Spain had generals enough to command the armies of the world, innumerable regiments and ships,

but no soldiers or sailors. There were more churches than houses, more priests than burghers, more altars than kitchens in the capital. Even in the filthiest nooks and darkest holes of vice, saints, waxen figures, censers and lamps abounded. At every step one ran against a pious fraternity, a procession, or a gang of penitents telling their beads. The wealth of decrees and declarations was inexhaustible, but justice was nowhere to be found. Laws flew out of the Castilian manufactory before you could say *amen*. The affirmation of an ancient statute cost a lawsuit of a century. The judges hung twenty citizens in one day, and disputed twenty years before they would take a mule from a wagon. Every spot had its municipal code, its local taxes, its own statutes. It was bliss indeed, to arrive saturated and chilled, at a Spanish inn, and then be obliged to seek one's meal among the grotesque multitude of shopkeepers alone authorized to sell, the one wine, the second oil, a third meat, a fourth salt. A skin of must or a bushel of oats could not be obtained without laborious search for the individuals alone privileged by the municipality to deal in these things. Mischievous superstition, incurable vice, universal laziness, monumental pride—such are the chords which thrill harshly through the work of the clever and pitiless author, whose intimacy with all the details of public and private life was undoubted. The ungovernable passion of his countrymen for bull-fighting is stigmatized. If Rome was content with bread and amphitheatres, Madrid was content with bread and bulls. The mean Englishman, the unbelieving Gaul, spoil day and night with their dangerous political controversies; the precious

Spaniard lives in sweet ease, and — delightful fasting. *They* quarrel a month until they get a law passed; *we* have thousands of laws ready in a trice without the trace of a contradiction. *Their* gums are too fastidious for cream; *we* swallow thistles with rapture. *They* sting like bees when they are being robbed of their honey; *we* are sheared and slaughtered as patiently as sheep. *They*, insatiable of riches and happiness, live like slaves of trade and industry; *we* are content and proud in poverty and beggary. *They* deify freedom and consider a single link of the slave-chain an intolerable burden; *we* carry a whole chain in ignorance of what freedom is. Heroes with them are rare; heroes with us shoot up like leeks and onions.

Such is the essence of this famous but faithful diatribe attributed to the historian Vargas Ponce, and giving an all too conscientious revelation of this cancer-eaten society.

The liberal tendencies which began to be shown by the government culminated, in 1797, in the temporary banishment of the inquisitor-general and the archbishops of Toledo and Seville, on the discovery of a plot to overthrow the favorite, and transfer him to the dungeons of the clerical party. Jovellanos was recalled to the department of justice in 1797. The plundering of Rome in 1798 by the French, and the proclamation of a republic instead of the papal tyranny, plunged the country into profound apprehension, and rendered Godoy, who had now espoused a daughter of the Infante Don Luis, more abject a dependent of the all-overshadowing republic than ever.

To crown the scandal, the republic demanded his dis-

missal as prime-minister in the same year. The humors of the queen, flickering hither and thither like a wind-blown light, systematically bewildered and humiliated the government in its whole attitude towards France. One minister succeeded another as in the beginning of the reign ; the cabinet became a miserable compound of irreconcilable elements. The infamous avarice, illiberality, and fanaticism of Don José Caballero in the ministry of justice, were found side by side with the passionate, anti-clerical radicalism of Urquijo in the foreign office and finances.

The relative independence of the Madrid cabinet at this period was ended by the successful return of Bonaparte from Egypt, the ruin of the Directory, and the elevation of the first consul. Godoy was formally restored to power as a tool of Napoleon, and a treaty between the two countries was signed in 1801, by which Napoleon's fervent desire to grapple with England by means of the Spanish fleet was gratified. In January, the same year, Lucien Bonaparte and the Spanish successor of Urquijo, Cevallos, signed a treaty whose basis was a common operation against Portugal. But the Spanish court obstinately refused to take part in the invasion and spoliation of its neighbor, more particularly as the queen's favorite daughter, Doña Carlota, was the wife of Don João, Prince-Regent of Portugal ; and the queen, refusing to aggrandize Spanish America at the expense of Portugal and its possessions, was indefatigable in working for peace. This attitude was maintained until Bonaparte assumed the supremacy. War then broke out ; Portugal was overwhelmed by fifteen thousand French, and sixty thousand Spanish

soldiers with Godoy as generalissimo, and the little kingdom was partially dismembered. After this "war of oranges" Godoy, swelling with heroic pride, exulted in being compared with Frederic the Great.

After ten frightful years of war, Europe by the peace negotiations of Amiens in 1802, enjoyed a brief spell of tranquillity. Spain was fortunate enough to enjoy nearly three years of neutrality, though nothing was essentially advanced by it. The land, both in peace and war, was the slave of Napoleon and Talleyrand. The sums which the military operations had not swallowed up were squandered by the extravagance of the court or by the uncurbed greed of the minions with whom Godoy peopled every branch of the administration. The six years between 1802 and 1808 were years of infamy, of profound criminality on the part of the Prince of Peace, perpetually coquetting with Napoleon and dreaming of an independent sovereignty in Portugal, and of shameless squabbles in the royal family. The mere mention of an honest meeting of expenses created a paroxysm of disgust, terror, and indignation in the palace. Three years before (1799), the paper money had fallen forty per cent. in value, and the appalling news circulated that a new emission, to the amount of ten hundred and sixty million *reals*, was to be made in April of the same year. Of the eighteen hundred and twenty-three millions expended in 1799, the palace swallowed one hundred and five millions, justice seven (!), war nine hundred thirty-five, finance four hundred and twenty-eight, foreign affairs forty-six, the navy three hundred. In October, 1802, on the occasion of the marriage of the prince of the Asturias, fifty-seven

field marshals, twenty-six lieutenants general, and hundreds of colonels were named. The navy, which counted only fifteen seaworthy ships of the line and frigates, swarmed with honorary officials on enormous salaries. Godoy's annual revenues ran up to one million *reals*—more than all the judges of the kingdom. The pestilence, failure of harvests, famine, and earthquake, added to the gloomy horrors of this epoch of distraction (1800).

The immorality of the governing authorities gave an infinity of details to the general misery. The peace with England, after the treaty of Amiens, left behind its remembrance, in a debt of four thousand millions. By the treaty of 1800, Spain had ceded Louisiana to France, on condition that France would agree not to cede it thereafter to any other power than Spain. Bonaparte, however, falling into financial straits, impudently sold it to the United States for eighty million francs, without even informing Spain. The miserable dallying of Godoy with France and England, now again at war, resulted in a threat on Bonaparte's side, of planting eighty thousand Frenchmen in the heart of Spain. Hence the ignominious treaty of 1803 with France which rendered war with England unavoidable, cast a mountain of responsibility on the peninsula, yoked the Spanish exchequer to a dismal monthly contribution of six million francs, and exceeded infinitely the stipulations of 1796.

The year 1805 buried the relics of the once glorious Spanish fleet in the seas of Cape Finisterre (July 22), and Trafalgar (October 20). The emperor simply sent his orders to Madrid and the Spanish ports. Disobe-

dience was a crime. The art of paying salaries had for thirty-three months been forgotten in Spain. And yet, this noble people still glanced with idolatrous devotion up at the illumined and divinely-appointed being whom it recognized as its king. The word "majesty" still thrilled through the Spaniard with the holiest shudder of his loyal heart. Add to this, "Catholic," the miraculous touch of the healing and universal church, and the foundations of Spanish patriotism were even yet intact in the reverence of the masses.

French diplomacy began in 1801 to enhance and utilize the natural indignation of the young prince of the Asturias against the favoritism of the palace. Ferdinand's dark and resolute character had already, in 1791, created the fear that the heir of the Indies might eventually turn out another Philip II. His mother hated, Godoy dreaded, him; and the audacious thought had even entered Godoy's mind to push aside the hereditary prince, and, in the eventuality of Charles's death, get himself and the queen appointed regents of the realm. The queen-mother was even accused of twice frustrating the hopes of her pregnant daughter-in-law, and in 1806, of poisoning her. The same year found Europe covered with vassal kings of Napoleon; Italy, Germany, Holland, were presented to his brothers or his brothers-in-law, or his allies. Spain and Portugal remained; and when Godoy found that Prince Ferdinand's character put an impassable obstacle in the way of his ambition in Spain, he turned his attention to Portugal, actually feeling the crown on his head when the French troops received orders to march on Portugal

— a crown of thorns to be obtained from the hands of the great emperor who hated and despised him.

The capture of Buenos Ayres by the English — a city which dominated the South American domains as far as the Cordilleras — threatened to revolutionize America. Godoy, infinitely tickled by being called *Mon Cousin* by Napoleon, felt himself ready to do anything for the almighty Olympian who now thundered his commands from distant Warsaw. Junot's columns crossed the Spanish frontier in 1806, and the treaty of Fontainebleau, signed by Duroc on the part of the French, and by Izquierdo on the part of Spain, completed the conspiracy against Portugal. This treaty dismembered that kingdom and made three states of it, one of which was to be Godoy's.

The factions of the Escorial broke out anew in disgraceful scenes. Ferdinand, now a widower, reduced to despair, sought help of Napoleon, and begged the honor of allying himself with an imperial princess. For years, it was said, no post of importance had been given at the palace, unless the wife or the daughter or the sister of the applicant, was handed over to the prime-minister. Ferdinand knew this; and yet his helplessness made his position still more difficult. He was suddenly arrested, deprived of his sword, and shut up in his room under a charge of treason; but his confession and profound penitence secured his pardon.

In November, Junot overran much of Portugal and the royal family fled to Brazil. Dupont and Moncey followed him, the first with twenty-four thousand, the second with twenty-five thousand Frenchmen; who

entered Spain without giving the least notice to the authorities.

Ferdinand's popularity, meanwhile, had risen in 1807 in the same proportion as the hatred of the populace against the queen and Godoy. The reorganization of the universities by the Prince of Peace, in 1807, had undeniable merits; but with these admirable reforms, he infuriated the clergy and the *hidalgos* by proposing



Godoy.

to utilize some of the enormous possessions of both; and it was said that, while the people were starving, he had stolen five or six hundred millions of reals out of the treasury and the pockets of his subordinates. Monks and preachers painted his godlessness in the foulest colors, and circulated the most hideous narratives concerning their majesties: the queen, who in the palace had a





seraglio arranged like the Turks' and Moors', wanted to marry Godoy and poison the king; the king was in love with Pepita Tudo, Godoy's "double wife;" and Godoy compensated himself by Pepita's younger sister.

The wondrous popularity of Napoleon had even penetrated the Pyrenees, and was identifying itself in Spain with the cause of Ferdinand and liberation. Considering the European relations since 1805, it seemed an almost inexplicable anomaly that Spain should have been treated by Napoleon with such indulgence. Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Prussia, Russia had felt his powerful hand and been forced into new paths: Spain alone for twenty years had seemed hardly to perceive the universal tempest. The French troops had stood on the Ebro in 1795, with Castile fully defenseless before them, and they had evacuated the country without the cession of a village. In 1801 Godoy had roused the utmost fury of Bonaparte; 1802 and 1803, conspired with England and Naples in the most insulting manner; and in 1806, believing in the invincible spirit of the Prussian army, had issued a warlike proclamation against the distant emperor; and he had always succeeded in supplicating pardon from the most contemptuous despot in Europe. But none of the states subject to the Corsican had done so little, none might have done so much, for Napoleon; and now that the whole Napoleonic policy was concentrated in the intense desire to humiliate England, and the solution of this paramount problem wholly depended on the possession of a suitable fleet, he began to turn his eyes slowly in the direction of the peninsula, and slowly to evolve his mighty plans of conquest.

But the unconquerable difficulties arising from the peculiarity of the Spanish monarchy, its composition, the stubborn and haughty character of the people, the nature of the country, and the singular confusion between religion and patriotism always existing in the Spanish mind, and lashing it to fury on the least insult from a stranger, had hardly escaped the transcendent clairvoyance of his glance. From 1801 he had busied himself more than once with Spanish things. The immense successes of the year 1807, leaving him free to avenge the insults he had suffered from Godoy; his knowledge of the discords in the royal household; the prayers and protestations of father, son, and favorite; and the absolute necessity of bending England, — all urged him to the marshalling of his myriads on the Spanish frontier. Hence the order to General Dupont to assemble an army of twenty-five thousand men for the expedition into Spain.

The two *corps* of Dupont and Moncey seemed to him, in 1808, sufficient for the *coup* intended against the centre of Spain; other divisions were gathered from Italy and Germany, and planted at the foot of the Pyrenees to cover these. The enigmatical designs of the emperor filled Charles IV. with anguish and anxiety; but they were plain to anybody from November, 1807: he wanted to be lord of Spain as he had become lord of Italy. The passion of the conqueror blinded him: Charles was a fool, a coward, a hen-pecked, contemptible bigot; Ferdinand was a hypocrite, an ignoramus, a lazy and faithless wire-puller; everybody knew Godoy was a scoundrel, the queen a hag: would it not be easy to descend with irresistible might on

such a mass of incompetency, scatter it, to the four winds, and install some scion of the Napoleons on the throne of St. Ferdinand? Junot had already solemnly, by imperial decree, deposed the house of Braganza at Lisbon, and laid upon the land a contribution of one hundred million francs. The French troops of the north began to advance from Burgos and Valladolid toward Segovia and Aranda, in the very heart of Spain. The conscription of 1809 was about to raise his giant army to nine hundred thousand men. The Spanish government, too, as if paralyzed or indifferent, made no sharp protest, nor took any measures whatever for the military security of the country, either of which might have given the eagle-eyed emperor precisely what he wanted, — an excuse for a fierce and downright proclamation of war.

Murat, therefore, was sent off in all haste to Bayonne, that he might betake himself thence to Madrid at the head of the advancing columns; the Spanish government all the time fancying, or pretending to fancy, that Napoleon's object was simply to strengthen the Mediterranean and other ports threatened by the English! French troops poured into Spain through the Basque Provinces, the Pass of Roncesvalles, on Pampelona, and into Catalonia, where General Duhesme installed himself, at Barcelona, in February. The fortresses commanding the north were soon entirely in the hands of the French.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### REIGN OF FERDINAND VII.

**A**S if by a flash of lightning, an intimation of Napoleon's intentions seemed to be at last conveyed to these obtuse Bourbon consciousnesses. The royal family prepared for flight. Immense agitation shook the peninsula at the deeds of violence perpetrated by the invaders in Navarre and Catalonia. The whole responsibility was shifted on the hated government ; for either, as it was said, its accursed ambiguity of action had forced the former ally to his evil measures, or it was voluntarily surrendering the very bulwarks of Spanish independence to the cunning enemy.

The French, meanwhile, were moving on Madrid, — with peaceful intentions all the while ! Godoy and the queen resolved to fly from the royal residence of Aranjuez, — a sort of Spanish Fontainebleau, filled with exquisite gardens, fountains, and palaces ; when the people, hearing of it, broke out into frenzy, threw themselves on Godoy's hotel, ruined the luxurious furniture, dashed the windows to pieces, threatened to kill him, and compelled the king to dismiss the odious minister. Charles IV., in a paroxysm of terror, abdicated on the 19th of March, 1808, and on the plea of "ill-health," and to the boundless enthusiasm of the populace, an-

nounced Ferdinand VII. as his successor. An era of universal happiness seemed about to dawn, for was not the martyr Ferdinand king? was not Godoy deposed and about to be executed? and the imbecile king and the termagant queen forever relegated to private life? And the two thousand millions of Godoy's stolen property would largely pay the national debt!

Murat, even when a few miles from Madrid, knew no more of Napoleon's intentions than one of his own subordinate generals; and he had hitherto begged unavailingly for enlightenment. His own passionate ambition was to be made king of this beautiful and wealthy realm; would it be fulfilled?

The queen meanwhile had bitterly rued the premature abdication of her easily intimidated and easily governed husband. She now began a series of intrigues with Murat, crying for help against her "rebellious" son. Murat surprised Ferdinand by recognizing only Charles IV. as king of Spain, though the lovely spring day on which the new monarch made his triumphal entry into Madrid showed Murat the population in a state of indescribable joy and unanimity over his accession, while the nation almost to a man hailed him as a deliverer. Forty thousand French, now in the metropolis, began to maintain a menacing attitude, under shelter of whom Charles recalled his "forced" abdication, and the queen and her daughter described their son and brother to the foreign general as the blackest ingrate and schemer.

Now came the opportunity for Napoleon. He succeeded in alluring first Ferdinand, then, a few days after, his father, mother, and their faithful "Manuel"

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(Godoy), to Bayonne, holding out to them the prospect of a vague settlement, the necessity of an interview, consultations over what was to be done for Spain, etc. With incredible complacency both parties—now mortal rivals—fell into the net. A government so long consisting simply of the prime minister could not be hard to frighten. Difficult indeed, however, was the manipulation of this haughty people, who felt themselves outraged, degraded, scandalized to the core by the unseemly haste of the unhasting Spanish majesties to throw themselves into the arms of the magnificent upstart. Ferdinand was expostulated with. It was of no avail: he rushed on his fate like a true Bourbon, and, once across the frontier, was treated by Napoleon with one indignity after another. He was forced—some say under fear of death—to abdicate; Charles IV. was reinstated, but refused obstinately to return to Spain; and for the pitiable mess of pottage of a French palace and a sum of money, surrendered his birthright of the immemorial crown of Hispania to the truculent invader.

By this time the 2d of May—date ever memorable in the annals of the peninsula—had dawned on the people of Madrid, where a *junta* composed of grandees and dignitaries represented the Spanish government, so shamefully abandoned by its kings. The effort to entice the remaining members of the royal family to Bayonne filled the huge masses of peasantry, who had flocked to the capital to witness the Sunday parade of the imperial guard, with deep-murmuring indignation. A collision ensued: then a frightful massacre of the innocent spectators; then for a week all the corpora-

tions of the overawed city did homage to Murat as governor-general of the empire. Spain was being properly reduced to order!

Did not Charles IV., with his newly obtained civil list of thirty millions of reals, — “with the integrity of his empire maintained,” “the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion alone tolerated in Spain,” “the prince whom the emperor shall place on the vacant throne independent,” — shiver in his imperial palace of Compiègne as he watched these things? And Ferdinand? who, for his pretty behavior in so gracefully abdicating, had pocketed an income of 1,100,000 francs, and was to be entertained by the Talleyrands at Château Valençay, with theatre, comedians, the possibility of an intrigue with some *jolie fille*, attached.

The powerful fleet — 76 ships of the line and 51 frigates — of the time of Charles III. had been suffered to fall to pieces; the absolutely worthless government had, during Charles IV.'s twenty years' reign, added but 5 ships of the line and 12 frigates to the fleet, in 1808! And of these many were unseaworthy. The condition of the arsenals and navy-yards was deplorable. The army, nominally 120,000 strong, really amounted to only 60,000 with which to oppose Napoleon; and there were under the generalissimo 5 captains-general, 87 lieutenants-general, 127 field-marschals, 252 brigadier-generals, and 2,000 colonels!

As for finances, there were none. The state debt amounted at this period to more than seven milliards of reals, but one-third of which was due to earlier governments. And the Castiles had lost one-third of their population by epidemics and famines.

Such was the gift which the "grand pioneer of new forms of life, the consummator of God's revolutionary judgments on ancient Europe," was about to make to his eldest brother, Joseph, then king of Naples, with the pretended sanction of the representative bodies of Spain.

It is undeniable, however, that the ripest and most honest conviction of many of the most distinguished Spaniards inclined to the emperor, nauseated as they were with the paternal *charivari* of the Bourbons, now as loathsome as the dynasty of Habsburgers. The mighty mass of the people, however, — that deep, slumbering, loyal, long-suffering mob, — shrieked at the brutal despotism of the emperor, at last awake to the enormous responsibilities of the hour. Not since the Arabian invasion had flooded the land from Cadiz to the Asturias, under Târic, had such an invasion impended. The noblest men of the eighteenth century, like Campomanes and Jovellanos, were Asturians; and out of the Asturias, for the second time, the tide of resistance was to flood, before which the hitherto resistless conqueror was to bend. The Asturians, piercing the impenetrable veil that hung over the emperor's projects, sprang to arms in May, 1808, and declared solemn war on Napoleon. A single week sufficed to transform the whole of Spain, from the Cantabrian Sea to the Bay of Cadiz, and from the Ocean to the Mediterranean, into a sea of flame.

Of the hundred and fifty deputies called by Napoleon to Bayonne, to give national sanction to Joseph's pretensions and draw up a constitution, only ninety-one appeared. The gentle and accomplished Joseph loathed

the idea of forcing himself on a gallant people ; but, overwhelmed by the prayers and reproaches of his brother, he yielded, and hoped to win the hearts of his new subjects by kindness, intelligence, and good government. In July he set off from Bayonne with his new constitution in his pocket, — doubtless a great improvement on pre-existing ones. Engagements with the insurgents took place almost simultaneously. Saragossa underwent its first brilliant siege with sublime heroism, and was fired to the loftiest pitch of exaltation by the valor of the two-and-twenty-year-old Maid of Saragossa ; and its successful resistance worked indescribably on the rest of Spain. The defeat of the Spaniards at Rio Seco greatly delighted Napoleon.

Joseph, who had now entered Madrid, found his position every day becoming more desperate, amid a population absolutely untamable. A French army under Marshal Moncey was beaten back from Valencia ; another under Dupont and Reding, plunging too deeply into Andalusia in its efforts to protect the French squadron lying at Cadiz, capitulated to Castaños, at Baylen, July 21, 1808, to the number of more than seventeen thousand men. Joseph fled instantly from his capital of a week, followed by not a soul of his two thousand domestics. At Burgos he took breath, while the news made the emperor writhe with fury. "I'll send you Ney and one hundred thousand men, and in the autumn Spain shall be ours !"

But it took six tempestuous and irretrievable years before not Spain, but Bonaparte, was conquered !

How bitterly Joseph repented exchanging "*les doux loisirs du trône de Naples*," for that Madrid where, even

as king, it was said that his dreaded brother reigned a hundred times more than he did! And nine-tenths of his kingdom was in rebellion, while the French generals who had captured Barcelona, Burgos, and Vittoria, were virtually the prisoners of their conquest.

In Portugal, the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley, in July, 1808, at the head of ten thousand English, gave a nucleus about which the insurrection could gather,—a movement due to the luminous foresight of Canning, who saw that Spain must be England's battle-ground in this struggle of giants. Reinforcements from England soon raised his troops to thirty thousand. The overthrow of the French at Vimeiro, August, 1808, compelled Junot to sign the convention of Cintra, by which the French army was compelled to evacuate Lisbon and Portugal, though with all the honors of war. The invincible legions were defeated; the beginning of the end was at hand; the colossal pride of Napoleon was humbled.

He resolved himself to come to Spain and superintend the vast military operations he was about to inaugurate against the twelve or fifteen local and even mutually hostile governments then existing in that country. The supreme *junta* sat at Aranjuez under the presidency of Floridablanca. Sir John Moore was now the commander-in-chief of the English forces in Portugal. The Spaniards had a foretaste of Napoleon in the bonfires of Burgos,—fed by the furniture and musical instruments of the city; while the emperor himself crossed the Guadarramas and descended on Madrid, where he arrived on the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz, December 2, 1808. By several successive decrees he abolished the Inquisition, suppressed the lines of cus-

tom-houses that separated the provinces, and formed the great obstacle to the unity of the peninsula, and with a stroke of his pen annihilated the feudal rights which were the basis of the power of the *grandees*. Joseph had returned to Madrid among other *impedimenta*, and imagined himself now firmly seated on his throne, more especially as Blake had been defeated in the North. Sir John Moore was defeated and slain in 1809, by Soult, at the battle of Coruña, and the Spanish armies fled right and left before the serried masses of the French.

In January, 1809, the emperor, impelled by the armaments of Austria and the apprehension of a continental war, quitted Spain, leaving the incapable Joseph "camping rather than reigning at Madrid." The wondrous second siege of Saragossa in 1809, conducted for the Spanish by the heroic Palafox, and for the French by Lannes, a siege lasting fifty days, during which one-third of a garrison of forty thousand were placed *hors de combat* and the twelve thousand that surrendered preferred prison to the service of Joseph — gave the gentle-hearted king another taste of that bitter disillusion which he had all along been poignantly expressing to his mother. And Palafox, dragged half dead to the dungeon of Vincennes, symbolized the unbending spirit of the people.

The same year (1809) saw Soult's unsuccessful expedition to Portugal, — a disaster due largely to the unchangeable plans of the emperor, who, five hundred leagues from the scene of action, insisted that his plans of campaign should be executed; and to disobey was worse than to be defeated.

More fatal than all, dazzled by the hope of planting

his victorious eagles in Lisbon, he had left Spain, after his brief and triumphant campaign, in the hands of eight or nine ambitious and irreconcilable generals; Soult in Portugal, Victor at Merida, Jourdan at Madrid, Mortier and Suchet in Aragon, Saint Cyr at Barcelona, Kellermann at Valladolid, Bonnet in Biscay, and Lapisse at Salamanca,—between whom bitter rivalries existed; who each, perhaps, hankered after independent principalities; and who could with difficulty, if at all, be brought to act together on a concerted plan. Strangest of all, the emperor was in profound error as to the disposition of the inhabitants, who, he curiously enough thought, would “aid the French in suppressing the insurrection.”

Wellesley now commanded in Portugal; Carvajal, La Cuesta, and La Romana commanded the three Spanish armies of the centre, west and north, while there were innumerable groups of insurgents without commanders.

The gross vanity, incapacity, and carelessness of Soult were no match for the clear vision and cold manœuvring of Wellesley. Portugal was miserably lost for France, and a fatal blow dealt by the check to the *morale* and discipline of its armies. The second Andalusian expedition of 1809–10 was more mischievous in consequences than the first. Soult, lately so dishonorably driven by the English from Oporto, was named generalissimo of the three armies of Galicia, Portugal, and old Castile, and became, in the absence of the emperor, the real king of Spain. In the great battle of Talavera (July, 1809), the advantage ultimately remained on the side of the allied armies. In the Andalusian movements, though Cordova, Seville, and Granada fell into the hands of the French, they were

open, indefensible cities, while Cadiz, the key of Andalusia in a military and political sense, escaped. From hence, as once from the remote corners of Galicia and Asturias, the regeneration of Spain was to come.

The third French expedition to Portugal, under Masséna, shattered against Wellington's impregnable lines of Torres Vedras—one of the most gigantic works ever executed, covering five hundred English square miles of surface, and consisting of a triple series of enormous fortifications, defended by six hundred cannon, the object of which was to protect the approaches to Lisbon. This was the third time that Wellington had purged Portugal of the presence of French soldiers.

The assembling of the national cortes in September, 1810, at Cadiz, was of supreme importance, and its installation terminated the mission of the regency previously in office as the highest tribunal of the country. General Blake, Admiral Ciscar, and Captain Agar, were named the successors of the former five regents. Though the yellow fever raged in the city, the cortes refused to abandon it, and in 1812 effected its capital work, the "Constitution of 1812."

This constitution inaugurated representative government in Spain, abolished torture, the Inquisition, and most of the convents, founded the liberty of the citizen and the press, and improved the judiciary. The seigniorial rights attached to thirteen thousand three hundred and nine out of the twenty-five thousand three hundred and twenty villages of the peninsula were abolished, and though the nine thousand men's convents of 1626 had fallen to two thousand and fifty in 1808, these were considerably reduced. But unfortunately this brilliant

constitution died even before it was born, and was succeeded by an absolute monarchy which utterly crushed it.

The military operations of the years 1810-12, conducted by Soult against Badajoz, Victor and Marmont against Cadiz, and Saint Cyr and Suchet in Catalonia and Valencia, employed a force of four hundred thousand French, and might have resulted in the entire conquest of Spain, had not Napoleon, now (1812) intent on his celebrated Russian campaign, withdrawn many troops from Spain, and thereby hopelessly weakened his prospects in that country.

Under such circumstances beating Wellington and a nation almost immeasurably endowed with patience, enthusiasm, and power of resistance,—a nation that had fought the Moors for a thousand years and were fully equal to fighting Napoleon and his marshals for six,—was impossible. Wellington's genius triumphed brilliantly in the great battle of Salamanca, July, 1812; Joseph evacuated Madrid in haste and retired to Valencia; the treacherous Soult withdrew from Andalusia (August, 1812); and the two and a half years' siege of Cadiz was raised.

Though Joseph returned for a brief space to Madrid, the year 1813 saw the evacuation of Spain by the enemy. Wellington, now generalissimo of the Spanish armies, won the famous battle of Vittoria in June, 1813, over King Joseph, and ended almost at a blow the dismal tragedy which, really begun in 1807 by the invasion of Portugal, was rendered utterly abortive by this last disaster in 1813. Annexation of the Ebro provinces, as the Spanish frontier of France, was a

dream no longer to be realized. The French were in full retreat, flowing torrent-fashion through that Pass of Roncesvalles, which in Charlemagne's time had proved so fatal to their countrymen. Eighty thousand men remained of the four hundred thousand that had been poured into this bottomless pit of blood.

Returning to Paris in 1813, the emperor began negotiations with the prisoner of Valençay, with whom a treaty was signed December 11, 1813. Joseph was deposed; Ferdinand was reinstated. In 1814 a double restoration took place, in France and in Spain, of the ancient Bourbon dynasty—a dynasty whose characteristic it was, never to understand the necessities of the times nor the instincts of the countries it had to rule. Louis XVIII. in France, and Ferdinand VII. in the peninsula, represented ignobly enough the principle of divine right and passive obedience. The allies entered Paris in March, 1814, and the emperor, caught in an inextricable net, was a prisoner on the island of Elba.

On his arrival in his dominions in March, 1814, three suggestions were made to Ferdinand, relative to the constitution of 1812: to swear to it, not to swear, or to swear with mental reservations. His perfidious character prompted to the last.

The South American colonies meanwhile had not escaped the tremendous political agitations then revolutionizing Europe. The impulse towards entire emancipation from the mother-country started in 1808, and was consummated in the independence of Mexico in 1829. It was gloriously shown that "Christopher Columbus had *not* conquered the New World to feed the muleteers of La Mancha and the cobblers of Castile."

The revolt broke out at Caraccas, in Venezuela (1810). Then came the turn of Buenos Ayres, at the other extremity of the continent; New Granada, Paraguay, Chili, Mexico, with varying success. Bolivar and Sucre assured the independence of Peru in 1824-26. And all that kept that "dust of republics, incessantly swept by the wind of revolution," from unifying into one huge South American federal organization, was the immense and compact monarchy of Brazil, flourishing anew under the House of Braganza.

In May, 1814, — the year of the great congress of Vienna — the last smothered cry of the national cortes was suppressed. The deputies were arrested; the memorial stone of the Constitution, erected in the public squares of the cities, overturned; and no trace of protest either from people or army was heard. At last there was a king again.

The day which saw the liberation of the country from the yoke of the stranger, saw it almost hopelessly sink beneath the yoke of its well-beloved king, — the incarnation of cruel, base, "tricky" absolutism, a vile debauchee, "beginning and ending in blood and mud."

The three periods of Ferdinand's reign embrace the six years, from his return to Madrid in 1814 to the revolution of 1820, and the resurrection of the cortes and Constitution of 1812; the second extends from 1820 to the capture of Cadiz, and the fall of constitutional government in 1823; and the last, from 1823 to Ferdinand's death in 1833. The period between 1808 and 1814 was interrupted by exile and the usurpation of Joseph Bonaparte.

The first period saw the recall of the Jesuits; the



**BASQUE PEASANT.**

THE  
NEW  
EDITION

élite of Spain, such as Arguelles, Martinez de la Rosa, and Herreros, condemned to the galleys; the liberal constitutional party proscribed; the free-masons extending their vast hidden system over the land as a permanent conspiracy against the encroachments of crown and clergy; monarchical terrorism organized, and the noble outburst in Andalusia (1820) headed by Riego, whose name, given to the national hymn, has become famous as the synonyme of constitutionalism in Spain.

In March, 1820, Ferdinand was compelled by the popular clamor to convoke the cortes; to confide the principal portfolios to liberals drawn from the galleys (Herreros, Perez de Castro, and the two Arguelles); to abolish the Inquisition forever; to free the press, and to re-establish the national militia.

Civil war broke out in May, 1822, and with it came misery, famine, and ruin. The Holy Alliance, led by France, intervened; the Duc d'Angoulême, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, entered the peninsula in 1823, to crush the insurgents, restore a "scion of Henry IV. to the throne," and hand over the devoted land to ten years more of proscription and torture with the restoration of Ferdinand who, temporarily set aside, had been carried off a prisoner by his subjects to Cadiz.

Ferdinand owed his second deliverance (1823) to France, as he had owed his first to England. The fall of Cadiz — the liberation of the king — endowed Spain with a new despotism more concentrated than ever. At Saragossa, in the course of a few days, fifteen hundred persons were cast into prison; death was decreed against the three constitutional regents who had been

appointed to govern the country in his place ; a secret police sowed terror and dissension everywhere. The frightful atrocities perpetrated by the king's order, on the rebels of Catalonia, were memorable even in this reign of rosaries, blood, and voluptuousness.



FERDINAND VII.

In 1829, the last of the Ferdinands married as his fourth wife—he was without heir—his niece, *Maria Christina*, daughter of the king of Naples and sister of the Duchess de Berry.

The finances of the kingdom were hopelessly out of order; an annual expense of seven hundred million reals could hardly be met by an annual revenue of four hundred millions. The revolution of 1830 in France, with the expulsion of the Bourbons, caused the intensely ex-

cited Spaniards to desire their revolution of July and their citizen king, while Ferdinand, absolutely rotting on his throne with gout, debauchery, superstition, and ferocity, seemed but little capable of resisting, in his enfeebled health, the stress and storm of the times.

The question of the succession now began to occupy



MARIA CHRISTINA.

the dying king. The well-known decree of Philip V. in 1713, transformed by cortes into the fundamental law of the kingdom, had decided that women could succeed only in default of male heirs, not only in the direct, but in the collateral branches. The cortes of 1789 abolished the Salic law, and was confirmed in  
H. S.—35

its course by the cortes of 1812, keeping in mind the ever-glorious reign of Isabella the Catholic. In 1830, Ferdinand had this law, — already half a century old, — formally promulgated, in anticipation of the possible birth of a daughter, and that he might exclude his brother Don Carlos and his heirs from the succession. The birth of Maria Isabella II., October 18, 1830, justified these precautions, though Don Carlos, born one year before the Pragmatic Sanction of 1789, had an absolute right to the throne in default of heirs male to his brother.

A conspiracy headed by Don Carlos and his "Apostolical" party, wrenched from the half unconscious monarch, the annulling of the Pragmatic Sanction, to the intense indignation of the country, which was almost unanimously for Christina. Ferdinand fortunately returned to himself and, urged by his energetic sister-in-law, Charlotte, revoked the consent, to the horror of the court party, the reactionary clergy, most of the captains-general, and the fanatical northern provinces. The young queen, made regent, became immensely popular by her first decrees, which proclaimed a general amnesty and re-opened the universities — "the reaction having found no other means of preventing the revolution of July from crossing the Pyrenees than by dedicating Spain to ignorance." A period of so-called "enlightened despotism," under the administration of Zea Bermudez, set in. The cortes reassembled in Madrid in 1833 and swore obedience to the queen-regent and to the infant queen. War from that moment was declared between the *Christinos* and *Carlists* — a war which has lasted intermittently

to our times. In September, 1833, Spain was delivered from the most odious and fatal ruler that ever oppressed and crushed a noble people ; and the legacy he left, was an eternal civil war.

The conspirator of the Escorial ; the rebel of Aranjuez ; the robber of his father's crown ; the worm squirming at the feet of his enemy at Bayonne ; the captive of Valençay, begging bits of colored ribbon from Napoleon while his people were pouring out their blood and gold to give him back his crown ; the jailer of the illustrious statesmen to whom he owed the restoration of that crown ; the perjured villain, who spontaneously engaged to be true to the constitution of 1812, and then conspired to overthrow it the day after he had sworn ; the promoter of anarchy during the three years of constitutional government ; the invoker of the Holy Alliance and the intervention of France ; the author of innumerable proscriptions ; the coarse voluptuary : Ferdinand leaves no memory but that of a man worthy of our profoundest scorn.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REGENCY.—ISABELLA II.—AMADEUS.—THE  
REPUBLIC.—ALFONSO XII.

THE flocking of the liberals round the popular queen-regent seemed auspicious of happy consequences for Spain. But even before the king's death, indefatigable Carlist intriguers were working for Don Carlos. Was Don Carlos or Isabella to succeed? As the king, up to his last moment, had done absolutely nothing to secure the future of his wife and infant daughter from the horrors of an unending dispute, speculation was rife as to the sovereign to come.

Hardly was the breath out of the body of Ferdinand, who, for seven years had been subject to choking fits, when everybody rushed to "hear his will: *Civil War!*" Almost simultaneously the Carlists rose in Vizcaya and Alava; the insurrection sprang up nearly everywhere over Spain. A council of regency, which represented the liberal opposition against Zea, was formed, whose object it was to assist the queen, carry on the government, and quell the insurrection. The Carlists, headed by the celebrated parson of Villoviado, Don Geronimo Merino, — originally a goat-herd, of inimitable audacity, activity, and a cruelty that shrank from no excess, — gathered in great force in old Castile; but were defeated, and driven over the border to Don Carlos. A

momentary lull set in, which it will be well to employ by a slight characterization of the Basques and their history, the proper pivot and nucleus of this interminable rebellion.

The Basques occupy an isolated position both in origin and language among the nations of Europe. Not only have they preserved their hitherto unclassified tongue with strange obstinacy from the earliest times, but the popular life, the customs, the independence of the people, surviving Romans, Goths, and Arabs, live on in undisturbed vigor at the present day. In the great Habsburg wars with France, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Basques became the natural guardians of the important western frontier on the Spanish side. When the Catalans, at the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees, yielded to Richelieu's allurements, and threw off the yoke of the Castilians, it is well known that this event contributed to the overthrow of the general supremacy of Spain. Had the Basques in the west acted similarly, the results might have been beyond calculation. But as they remained loyal, it appeared of little importance whether the few hundred thousand mountaineers paid more or fewer taxes, and the Castilians came readily to grant the poor mountain folk a privileged position in consideration of the great services they were capable of rendering. Among their privileges was the famous "nobility of blood," according to which all Basques were of noble birth, and enjoyed, both at home and elsewhere in Spain, all the prerogatives of nobility—a privilege fully established in their favor in 1582, and unconditionally reaffirmed by Philip III. in 1608, to the pique of the

Castilian *hidalgos*. Far from being satisfied, however, with their large measure of local independence, they gradually came to decline their part of the burdens of the government, formed with their three provinces and the allied kingdom of Navarre a sort of sovereign state within the state, were freed from the taxes exacted from the other provinces, gave the monarch only voluntary gifts, and were exempted from the customs system of the realm, from regular recruiting for the army, and from calling out their troops except in vivid emergencies. The king was not permitted to keep troops in their land except in certain towns; and the administrative and judicial organization of the rest of the realm was foreign to them.

Thus sundered from the rest of Spain, these four provinces were no less so among themselves; and all that held them together at all, was the moral bond of their essentially similar *fueros*. Every spot watched with lynx eyes over its own independence; feuds raged between the various villages, valleys, and fraternities; and everything moved within the circle of a sharply defined individuality which formed the delight of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The constitution of Alava, Guipuzcoa, and Navarre, however, harmonized essentially with that of Vizcaya; a glance at the latter will be tolerably applicable to the remainder of the Pyrenean sisterhood.

The *fueros* of Vizcaya were comprehensively revised in 1452, 1526, and 1527, and recognized the reigning monarch not as *king* but as *lord*. The government was conducted by a deputation, two out of whose three members were chosen by the popular assembly, the

third,— called *corregidor* — being appointed by the king from among the natives of the country. The *Junta General* was the real organ of the sovereignty of Vizcaya, at which the deputies of each place met annually once, under the venerable oak of of Guernica. The competent house-owners of pure Biscayan blood had the right to choose the representative of the town or village, and to instruct him for the sitting. Common interests were discussed and decided as the deputies sat on the bench under the great oak, and listened to the reports of the deputation. The delegates, dividing into two parts, drew by lot three electors, who then named several persons among whom lots again decided as to which should form the two deputies and the six *corregidores*, the latter being a committee of the classes, consisting of six *corregidores* chosen by the popular assembly as an adjunct to the deputation.

The Basques had remained, fortunately, free from the influence of the evil tendencies to which the monarchy since Charles V. had gradually given way. The mischievous system of taxing food, and the provincial revenues, the suicidal customs scheme existing between the various principalities, and the monstrous corruption of officials and judges, remained far from these mountains. Hence, agriculture flourished in a fashion unknown to Castile ; the harbors were full of ships ; industrial enterprise, mining, iron-founding, went on vigorously. The valleys were, owing to the vicinity of the Pyrenees and the rich abundance of water, Edens of verdure, though the mode of cultivation and the agricultural implements were of the most primitive description. But the rudest two-wheeled Basque wagon, the most antedi-

luvian *laya*, were preferable to the hopeless indolence of the Castilian. Beggary, monastery soup, the idle filth of central Spain, were unknown. The loveliness of the country, the industry, genial prosperity, and noble patriotism of the people, and the comfortable appearance of the towns and villages, roused the admiration of Wilhelm von Humboldt in 1799. According to the census of 1797, only fourteen hamlets had become *despoblado* or abandoned, in the Basque provinces,—a feature so characteristic of Spain—while there were more than nine hundred of them elsewhere. Manorial taxes did not exist among the Basques. The home of Loyola could not of course be free from monastic establishments; but the regular clergy counterbalanced the monks, and schools flourished more than monasteries. While Absolutism made but rare and unsuccessful attempts to subject the Basques to its uniform order, Liberalism, in the radical form it assumed elsewhere in Spain, was distasteful to them, especially as it failed to tolerate these exasperating privileges. Hence, the Basques were prepared to fight to the death against the Constitution of 1812, in support of the independence of their ancient *fueros*. The restoration of 1823 had restored their privileges, momentarily threatened in 1820. The whole Basque land stood with unanimity on the "servile" side as opposed to liberalism. They had never suffered from the absolute king; their clergy were dear to them; the liberals seemed to them violent tyrants, against whom their immemorial rights must be protected, as lately against the French. The liberal party therefore had nowhere fewer adherents than in these remote mountains.

Hence, the great influence which Don Carlos exerted in the Basque provinces, when it was skilfully sprinkled among the simple-minded, liberty-loving bigots that Don Carlos had always protected their cause against the arbitrary abolition tendencies of the liberals, that to him alone was due the salvation of their *fueros*. A curious paradox was the result: the freest and most active-spirited provinces of Spain, which reminded Humboldt irresistibly, in situation, constitution, and vivacity, of the small free states of Greece, became the chief prop and mainstay of the powers of darkness, intolerance, and servitude, that swarmed under the banner of Don Carlos!

And the first commanding personality that Spain had produced in forty years, — Tomas Zumalacárregui, — was, by force of circumstances, to throw his genius into the Carlist cause and prolong the death-struggle of Old Spain seven bloody and destructive years.

Originally an officer in the royal army, Zumalacárregui had been forced by the bitter injustice of his superiors to proclaim boldly that his sympathies were with Don Carlos. He became commanding general of Navarre, Guipuzcoa, and Vizcaya, beat and baffled the *Christinos* in numberless conflicts, and developed the *guerrilla* warfare into a brilliant science which menaced the very foundations of the established government.

It would be fruitless to linger over the myriad coalitions and ministries, the attacks of the opposition, the intrigues of diplomacy, the irresolution of the government wherever and whenever tact and vigor were necessary to the very existence of the state, the excitement

roused by the scandalous indecorum of the queen-regent, the admonitions of foreign cabinets, the dismissal of ministers, all through the ten years from the death of Ferdinand to the flight of Espartero. The one bright spot in the early part of Christina's regency was the comprehensive system of organization put forth by the great Spanish statesman, Burgos. Burgos was an accomplished student of the policy of Campomanes and Jovellanos; his brain teemed with an infinite wealth of knowledge and ideas; his memorable "instruction," sent out to the magistrates, embraced in great and yet practicable outlines the most important regulations concerning agriculture, industry, trade, mining, popular representation, general police, public instruction, economic associations, irrigation, forestry, weights and measures, bull-fights, sanitary and prison reform, roads, canals, public libraries, museums, theatres, and places of popular amusement. And yet, for the moment, the state possessed not a *real* for the accomplishment of his enlightened measures, the universities having been closed for years; whereas, schools for bull-fighters had been founded at considerable expense!

Many of these reforms, however, went gradually into effect. Burgos succeeded in abolishing the system of guilds by which the handworkers were oppressed, the wretched restrictions under which the once so flourishing sheep, cattle, and wine culture was languishing, and the senseless prescriptions that hampered the free sale of provisions; rendered all the professions and handicrafts honorable by opening to all of them the public offices of the communities, and even the doors of the nobility, previously closed by the laws of Charles

III.; censured and restrained the passion for bull-baiting; protected the theatre; and at a stroke, by his decree reorganizing the whole prison system, lifted his land out of the utmost savagery in this regard to a level with modern civilization.

The painful suspense in which the country had been kept for many decades past, vacillating as it had been between the most dismal absolutism and the extremest liberalism, and not as yet arrived at any intelligent or intelligible freedom, seemed about to be closed by the well-known *Estatuto Real*, or *Royal Statute*, of April 10, 1834. Though not by any means lavish of rights and liberties, this statute worked a great progress in comparison with the state of things that had existed for three hundred years. It excelled in very essential points, in real and permanent advantages, the declamatory and much-vaunted Constitution of 1812. It distributed the powers in such a manner between crown, clergy, nobility, and popular interests, that each seemed content and had better guarantees than the Constitution of 1812 had offered. The cortes was to be summoned; and it was to consist of two bodies, *Proceres* and *Procuradores*. The *Proceres* were constituted of the higher clergy, the grandees, prominent dignitaries such as ministers, ambassadors, generals, judges, and wealthy manufacturers, or owners of real estate with an income of three thousand dollars. They held office for life, from the age of twenty-five. The president and vice-president were chosen by the king at each meeting of the cortes. The other house consisted of deputies with an income of at least six hundred dollars, and its president and vice-president were likewise chosen by the

king from a group of five selected by the deputies themselves. They were elected for three years, were re-eligible, and must be natives or inhabitants, for at least two years previous, of the province from which they came. The king could summon, suspend, or dissolve cortes, and had to swear to uphold the constitution and laws. The right of petition was recognized. The execution of the laws was subject to the sanction of the king and the two houses. All taxes were voted by the cortes, — which was called together whenever deemed necessary by the king, — on the proposal of the king, and could be imposed for not more than two years. Reports from the various ministries were required. Dissolution of cortes was followed by the re-assembling of the new one within a year. Members of both houses were inviolable so far as concerned the votes and opinions given in the discharge of their duty.

The *statute* was thus seen to contain most of the requisites of constitutional government; its defects lay more in externals, in tone, than in essence; and it based itself happily on the ancient fundamental laws of the kingdom. The chief difficulty in its way lay in the abnormal condition of society, the irreconcilable contrasts of religious and secular opinion, greatly aggravated as they had been by the restoration and revolution, and the curious antagonism between the class which clung passionately to the moral and religious traditions of the past, and the class steeped in the fashionable French radicalism and emancipation from every moral and religious bond. Nowhere is this abnormal state of things, — are the innumerable wounds under

which Spanish society was then suffering, — more graphically dragged to the light than in the caustic and incisive pages of the great contemporary satirist, Larra.

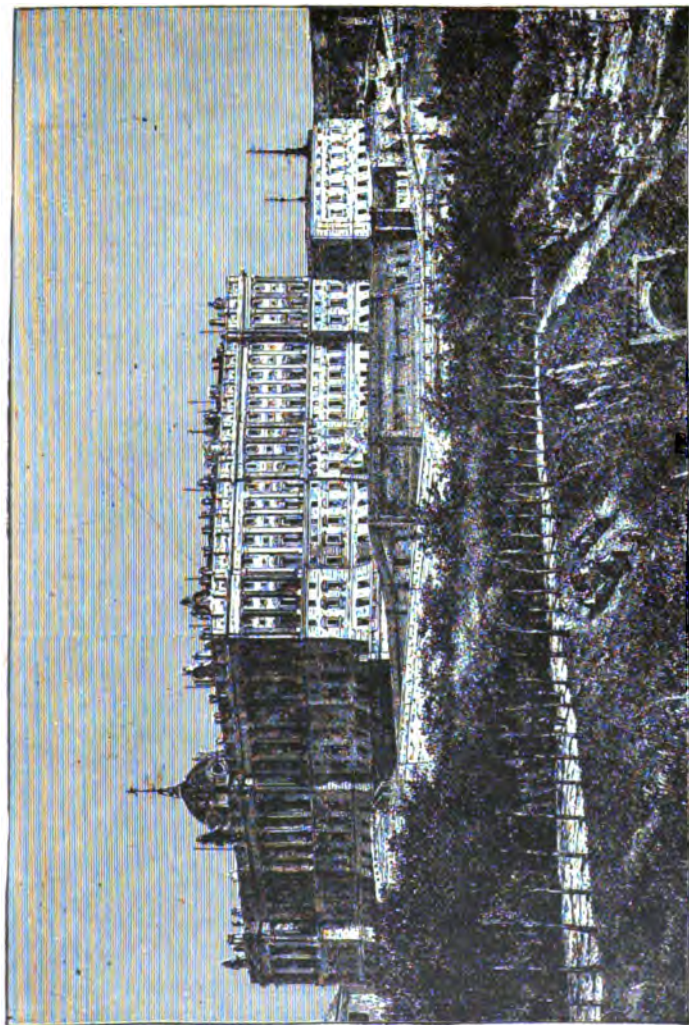
The Quadruple Alliance of the same year, between Spain, Portugal, England and France, strengthened the foreign relations of Spain, and united, loosely enough to be sure, the four powers in their plan of expelling Don Carlos from Spain, and the Portuguese pretender, Don Miguel, from Portugal. Don Miguel laid down his arms, and Don Carlos, then in Portugal, escaped to England in an English (!) ship, whence he speedily set out in disguise for Spain. His arrival in Navarre excited immense enthusiasm among his adherents.

The ravages of the cholera in Madrid, 1833-4, maliciously attributed to the poisoning of the wells by the monks, led to frightful massacres of these innocent persons, and showed the almost insane condition of public opinion; for the most intensely orthodox of Catholic nations had, in a paroxysm of terror and fury, turned upon the priests it had so long worshipped, and threatened to root out their very existence. The opening of the cortes gave rise to most unwelcome revelations as to the almost hopeless financial difficulties of the nation, — enormous debts incurred, hundreds of millions deficit; the marine in pitiable plight; public instruction neglected; the great highways between Saragossa and Barcelona, Seville and Madrid, and Madrid and Irun, bridgeless and incomplete; and the government, with its one hundred and nineteen thousand soldiers, utterly unable to grapple with the Carlist rebellion. Wherever the eye glanced — dissolution of the forces of government, moral and financial bankruptcy, incapacity or

impossibility of advancing a step ; — fanaticism, bigotry, egoism rampant ; eternal opposition by grandees and deputies to whatever saving measures might be proposed ; and a whirl of giddy ministries, one succeeding and blinding the other with more and more desperate exhibitions of witlessness and weakness.

The moral and tactical superiority of Zumalacárregui over Rodil, Mina, and the other Spanish generals, was strikingly shown in the rapid successes of the Carlists. A handful of soldiers breaking out into an *émeute* in the heart of the capital of Spain and the Indies plunged the peninsula into a state bordering on chaos. The complete demoralization of the royal army, the constant defeats of the *Christinos*, and the constant victories of Zumalacárregui, caused the government to call in the intervention of the allies ; but Louis Philippe declined to interfere. A momentary pause in the panic, caused by Zumalacárregui's intended march on Madrid, was produced by the wounding and death of the great general.

A singular personality ; a stature of middle size ; a head of the finest symmetry, surmounting a neck worthy of a Roman gladiator ; a profile that seemed snatched from some antique bas-relief, whose Greek harmony was, however, ruffled by something peculiarly aggressive in the chin and nose ; a gray eye, working with incredible intensity under thick, overhanging brows ; a clear, passionate, and powerful energy imprisoned within an austere, monosyllabic, merciless nature ; inflexibly just, unselfish, inhuman ; his dazzling valor and the fascinating might of his personality wove a spell over



THE PALACIO REAL OF MADRID.



all who approached him; and from his death dates the slow but sure decomposition of the Carlist party.

General Maroto, a dark intriguer, whom Don Carlos called in to supply his place, proved the ruin of that party.

"Down with the monks!" became the almost universal cry in 1835, and led to sanguinary excesses in Catalonia and Navarre, — a flame ignited by incendiary pamphlets and consuming the land with anarchy. Andalusia rose and demanded the constitution of 1812; *juntas* established themselves everywhere, since the government was powerless to govern; again France, called in, declined to intervene in the affairs of the unhappy peninsula; and England, as a last resource from absolute ruin, at length proposed the formation of a ministry under the great banker, Don Juan Alvarez y Mendizabal.

Beginning with a captivating programme for the financial regeneration of the nation, Mendizabal's impracticable dreams could not be realized; his enigmatical financial projects for a moment fired the nation with enthusiastic faith in his wonder-working power, but soon brought him into discredit; and the conflicts arising between the central government and the numerous self-constituted *juntas* of the provinces increased the despair springing from a lost faith in the all-powerful minister. A new levy of one hundred thousand men, without a *real* to pay them, was made to check the dangerous monotony of Carlist successes in Aragon, Catalonia, and Vizcaya, as the new Carlist chiefs, Cabrera and Eguia, bade fair to make telling substitutes for Zumalacárregui against Espartero and General Cordoba.

Mendizabal's decree, confiscating, with few exceptions, the entire mass of ecclesiastical property, opened for the moment a perspective of boundless resources for the creditors of the bankrupt state. But a nation so tormented by insecurity of life and property, so controlled by exasperating armed parties, and so devoured by forced loans, extraordinary taxes, open robbery, incarceration, banishment, found even these immeasurable church coffers insufficient; and Mendizabal's decree passed away, leaving few traces except in the pockets of the speculators among the *bourses* of London, Paris, Madrid, and Cadiz.

The general misery reached its culmination by the proclamation of the constitution of 1812 in Andalusia and Aragon, the solemn announcement of the "right of revolution" nearly everywhere, and the outbreak at San Ildefonso, the summer residence of the queen. An angry mob, breaking at midnight into the palace, terrified Christina into signing a decree recognizing the constitution of 1812 until the will of the nation should be clearly known in cortes. The queen opened negotiations with her brother, Ferdinand II., king of Naples, with a view to fleeing the country and saving herself and her children from their intolerable position. Everything seemed rushing into the arms of Don Carlos, who in a few months might have been king of Spain, possibly with Isabella married to his eldest son, had not his utter stupidity, fanaticism, and incapacity rendered him incapable of utilizing the situation. At one time even negotiations were going on for the flight of the queen and the Infanta into the camp of Don Carlos, so hopeless did their cause at Madrid seem. Carlist bands

traversed Spain in all directions, and appeared before the gates of Madrid; and if they had had any supreme commanding spirit, instead of numberless *guerrilla* leaders acting independently, at discord and dagger's point with each other, with the Virgin Mary as generalissima (!) and the pumpkin-headed "Charles V." telling his eternal beads, it is beyond a doubt that they would have succeeded.

In 1837, a "revised" — though in reality perfectly new — form of the constitution of 1812 was accepted and sworn to by the cortes. This revision accepted the double chamber ("senate" and "chamber of deputies"); most of the attributions of the king; the Catholic apostolic faith, — the abolition of whose exclusive claims was the first and last need of a liberal Spain; election of one deputy, twenty-five years old, for each group of fifty thousand souls; renewal of one-third of the senate whenever a new election took place; and summoning, proroguing, and dissolution of cortes by the king.

This was the third constitution introduced within twenty-five years, and after nine years of representative government.

Despite the brilliant achievements of Cabrera, — the barbarous murder of whose mother by the government, in retaliation for the son's cruelties, had raised a cry of indignation through Europe, — Espártero, since his appointment as commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces, inactive, negligent, and commonplace as he was, had gradually inflicted serious losses on the Carlists.

Don Carlos himself, however, grovelling in the grossest superstition, short-sighted, narrow-minded, and sur-

rounded by a host of darklings and speculators, was his own greatest enemy; and the appointment of General Maroto to the chief command, to relieve the feeble Guergué, sealed his doom. Bitter antagonisms soon showed themselves between Maroto and the "Apostolical" reactionaries that swarmed about Carlos. Carlos himself took sides against his commander-in-chief; but the rebellion of the latter, menacing ruin to the cause, compelled the king to submit to his dictation. Maroto, overcome with disgust at the Carlist tactics, and probably influenced by Espartero's increasing success, entered into negotiations, and concluded with him the well-known Treaty of Vergara, in 1839, which virtually ended the seven years' war. Don Carlos passed over to France with eight thousand of his followers; many of his troops took service for Isabella II.; and the flight of Cabrera over the border, in July, 1840, with five thousand troops, before the victorious legions of Espartero, ended the first episode of this fifty years' war.

The Carlist defeat was followed by the exhaustion, if not annihilation, of the powers which had been contending so desperately against the new order of things; a victory due not so much to the vigor of the liberal party, which had been continually ravaged by self-conflict, as to the dissensions and lawlessness of the Carlists.

Two of the liberal parties,—*Exaltados* and *Moderados*,—not content with fighting to the death the "legitimist absolutism" of Carlos, had, after crushing the third faction, called *Progressists*, themselves split into various factions; and first one party and then the other, of the great liberal wing, governed the country by means of

ministries without fixed principles and absolutely "standing in the air."

A period of repose, after the happily ended civil war, was indispensable, if any vital assimilation of the political forms recently given to the country was to take place. And yet both constitution and liberal institu-



ISABELLA II.

tions had remained strange to the masses, for nearly all the political changes which the land had undergone since 1834 had been forced on it by revolutionary violence, court intrigue, or the arbitrary will of powerful generals; and all these changes had been sterile for the real weal of the land. The great question agitating

the country was, not this or that constitution, but "who has control of the offices and revenues of the state, and how can I and my relations find access to them?" Whether Moderados or Progressists ruled, therefore, was a matter of indifference.

After the treaty of Vergara, Espartero was the most popular and powerful man in Spain. He allied himself with the Progressist group against the queen-regent and her ministry, and soon had the authority of the state entirely at his beck. A crisis having arisen between Espartero and the regent soon after the opening of cortes in 1840, in consequence of the alleged refusal of the regent to sanction the law relating to the *comunidades*, Christina, who was then in Barcelona with her daughters, laid down the regency, went into banishment, and left her children in Spain. Espartero, a man of moderate intelligence and no specially clear insight, now (1841) stood at the head of the government as regent. Dissensions burst forth in 1842; a rumor of a treaty with England disadvantageous to the commerce of Catalonia—the great commercial and manufacturing centre of Spain—roused both powerless republicans and Catholic absolutists against him. The order to bombard Barcelona and reduce the rebellious city to order, and the prorogation of parliament by him before supplies were voted, consummated the ruin of his popularity; and in July he took refuge on an English ship, rather than face the storm of an angry cortes. After Espartero's fall, Lopez, the eloquent president of the congress, was placed at the head of a provisional government, though a few months' incum-



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bency of office reduced him to hopelessness of ever doing anything for the country in what he called "that mephitic atmosphere in which thought and soul every moment sank in the wretchedness of personal interests, pretensions, and intrigues."

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### ISABELLA II.

ONLY twice since the death of Charles III. has Spain enjoyed a rule which, in permanency and relative comprehension of the needs of the country, really promoted its welfare. The first, under General Narvaez, the military head of the Moderados, maintained itself, with various interruptions and changes, from 1844 to 1851; the second, under General O'Donnell, persisted — something unknown in constitutional Spain — from 1858 to 1863. Though both bore a reactionary character, were conducted and supported by successful soldiers, and rested on a violent suppression of revolutionary tendencies, yet both held in check the excessive absolutist hankerings of court and clergy, checked by the revolution of 1854. But both eventually succumbed to the hostility of these double influences. As Don Carlos was no longer in the way, the exiled Christina and her emigrant party began to occupy more and more the position abandoned by him; a position defended, not with the coarse fanaticism, the stupid thoughtlessness, of 1814 and 1823, but with elaborate argumentation, through the agency of skilful writers like Cortes and Valmes. Narvaez's brilliant beginning, ready as he was to give strong guarantees of a conserva-

tive policy, soon shattered against the clamors of the conservatives, not only for the limitation, but for the extinction of freedom, and the restoration of clerical power and possessions, — hierarchical pretensions which



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found the most zealous support in Christina. Under Narvaez, however, for the first time, some of the reforms instituted by the enlightened Burgos were made practicable: a tolerably regular vote of supplies was ob-

tained ; the means for carrying on the government flowed in through the reformed system of taxation ; the simplest elements of human and political order appeared above the horizon ; an intelligent scheme of instruction was organized ; the state began to pay soldiers and officials punctually ; security of life, means of intercourse and culture were afforded ; the people began to work, learn, and obey the laws ; and though temporarily agitated, in 1846, by the marriage of Don Francisco de Bourbon with Isabella II. (prematurely pronounced of age in 1843), and by the new scandals attaching to the queen and the queen-mother, the country, thanks to his vigorous and conciliatory policy, passed happily through the crisis of 1848. The reconciliation of parties was joyfully concluded by the general amnesty of 1849, and the reform of the tariff completed the economic legislation of 1845. Passion exhausted itself little by little. Railroads, highways, manufactories began to spring up on all sides ; the loss of the colonies began to be abundantly compensated by encouragement of home industries. Unfortunately, the vicious court opened the palace doors wide to ecclesiastical influences. Narvaez, in 1851, succumbed to the machinations of the growing Catholic absolutist party. Three years' experimenting with dreams of a restoration, of the genuine Habsburg-Bourbon type, interrupting the quiet and thriving work of the Moderado party, and again rousing the ancient strife, resulted in the revolution of 1854. For the first time both the monarchy and Catholicism were openly and directly attacked. The scandalous acts of the court had brought into the

open light a consistent, radical, republican, materialistic party, hitherto sneaking in corners.

Espartero and O'Donnell humbled the throne in this revolution, and the former, as president of the ministry, showed his political incapacity, in the cortes of 1854-56, as conspicuously as before. The Progressists, now in power, showed the same impractical declamation, passionateness, and bad temper as in 1840-43. Yet these years of commotion show an encouraging progress over those of earlier decades: the deportment of the people was more orderly, civilized, and human. The wild barbarism of the civil war was almost unheard of, and the masses, once so susceptible to deeds of horror when urged by demagogues or monks, had grown quieter and more law-abiding. Twenty years' freedom from monasticism, and contact, however superficial, with modern culture, showed themselves plainly enough in these two years; and the revolution of 1856, collapsing as it did through its own impotence and the impotence of its leaders, held down by O'Donnell, who had kept Espartero in check as war minister, did not give rise to the hitherto usual acts of fanatical violence.

But for the clerical tendencies of the priest-ridden court, O'Donnell might have maintained his intelligent, conciliatory policy directly after the putting down of the revolution. Narvaez's government, in 1856, shattered against the general opposition flashing forth at the efforts of the Romish hierarchy. In 1858 the queen again took refuge in O'Donnell, the "rebel chief," who, in the revolution of 1854, had occupied a middle position between the old parties of the Moderados and Progressists, and had formed out of the

adherents of both the well-known *Liberal Union*. The object of the Union was to exclude party doctrines and party passions, combine the vigorous liberal powers of every shade, and place them at the disposal of real progress, order, and law. By means of this organization O'Donnell commanded the situation nearly five years, an important factor in which was his conduct of the brief but glorious Morocco war of 1859, called forth by Mahometan fanaticism and by unauthorized attacks on the Spanish-African stronghold of Ceuta. The happy effects of this outpouring of fervor on a foreign enemy were seen at once in the silencing of the eternal partisan squabbles, and the inauguration of a period of prosperity unknown hitherto to the exhausted peninsula. For several years it seemed as if at length the conclusion of the perpetual confusion in which Spanish life and progress had been involved had been reached,—as if law and culture had become indispensable, as if progress in peaceful development and serene intelligence at length had become a fundamental part of peninsular experience. Foreign capital began to flow in; railways and manifold industrial enterprises to flourish. Exhaustive statistics began to show the world a really delightful advance in trade and commerce, population, national possessions, agriculture, and educational facilities, the growth of the fleet and modes of communication, and the gradual passing away of the stifling superstition, laziness, and despotism of the past.

The beginning of the year 1860, as compared with the end of the reign of Ferdinand VII. in 1833, showed immense advances in public and private life. In 1833, the boundless tyranny of an evil-minded prince; in



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1860 the evil passions of a frivolous princess curbed and chastised. *Then* the enormous influence of an infinitely wealthy, uncivilized clergy ; *now* this influence, emasculated by the sale of the church property, the abolition of nearly all the monasteries, the emancipation of the state and of intellectual life from the church. Then the beneficent activity of the state, crippled despite the best will of the ruling circles by a pitiable organization of the executive and judiciary ; now courts and administration so constituted as to satisfy the needs of the moment wherever a tolerable desire to do justice was present. Then anarchy organized in the bands of so-called "royal volunteers," assisted by a feeble army and a powerless police ; now public authority and order, protected by a good army and an excellent police. Then agriculture, the professions, trade, perfectly prostrate and destitute of the most necessary foundations ; now agriculture revived by private ownership of the huge property of the church, trade, and industry, by the building of railways, roads, bridges, and the existence of public security. Then all participation of the nation in affairs excluded — no representation, no accountability ; now the people able to make their will felt in Cortes, in provincial and communal representation, and in an educated press. Then Spain almost absolutely shut out from the civilized world ; now Spain touched at a thousand points — by means of travel, electricity, and steam — by the thronging impressions of trans-Pyrenean activity. Then all channels of education stopped up ; no public schools ; caricatures of middle-class schools and universities ; no literature ; no energy displayed by literary corporations : now all these chan-

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nels overflowing opened, the former hindrances to art set aside, the country covered with universities, lyceums, elementary schools, academies, libraries, museums.

How then did it happen that in spite of all these beneficent changes, the nation still found no satisfaction — that O'Donnell could not maintain his policy, adapted on the whole to the circumstances; that after his retirement in 1863 the ancient chaos of cabinet changes and dissolutions of Cortes, of arbitrary and violent repression and of *pronunciamientos* burst forth more malignly than ever, and in five years precipitated the land into overthrowing the Bourbon dynasty in a day, and into a destruction of all the arrangements hitherto so painfully arrived at, leaving behind six years of the most ghastly anarchy?

The old Catholic Spain was extinct; all external obstacles which might have counteracted a hopeful development removed; constitutionalism in form at least existed; no ministry was able to resist a hostile majority in the cortes; the press exercised a great influence. And yet the whole constitutional apparatus was hollow and empty. Constitutional monarchy is the most perfect, but the most difficult of all forms of government. It pre-supposes with princes and citizens, not only judgment, but especially virtue; is adapted only to a grave, carefully educated, morally convinced, healthful and energetic state, and a kingly house schooled in governing conscientiously. Where either is wanting — people or prince — great good fortune alone can render a tolerable issue practicable. Spain lacked both. An industrious, virtuously-trained, serious-minded people did not exist; and at the palace, a princess whose scan-

dalous improprieties rivalled those of Maria Louisa, governed. In such circumstances, constitutional government is perhaps the worst of governments. A people like the Spanish, accustomed for centuries alternately to riot and then to starve off the unproductiveness of a gigantic colonial system, overshadowed by a heathenized and fantastic church devoid of all sense of duty, were gravely endangered at the opening of a parliamentary era. All the conspicuous intelligences of the kingdom rushed eloquently and impetuously to the field of battle, not only to obtain influence and control, but the means of a luxurious existence. The true Spaniard knows little of the sober, modest average of a well-regulated civil life ; he must live and labor as a great lord. Hence his effort to find, in the state, a substitute for the vanished colonies. Governing was to him synonymous with plundering. The treasury became not only the salary-payer but the never-to-be-exhausted mine of thousands. Hence the pressure of all talent into the career of politics. Whatever in other lands thronged the counters and banking-houses, the fields, workshops, and lecture-rooms, the domains of art and science, rushed wildly here into the narrow vortex of politics, creating a crushing competition, a desperate struggle for existence, a superabundance of blood in the brain, with famished extremities. No politics and no party can satisfy claims so insatiable. Even though one party should possess itself exclusively of all the offices and remunerative positions, a great number of its own party and party leaders remains empty handed. These unfortunates then turn their backs on their ungrateful friends, and go into opposition or wherever else the

best prospects are to be found. A Spanish politician of 1865 said, that politics in Spain was a speculation, and the number of speculators was daily increasing.

Such a condition of things as this described, springing from social and economic considerations, was rendered worse by the national temperament. "The Spaniards act in violent paroxysms, one moment capable of the noblest sacrifices, the most heroic exertions; then lapsing into inconstancy and helplessness; a people of soldiers; a race of heroes, but not a nation of citizens." Of course such a temperament puts the most serious obstacles in the way of self-government. Such a people needs politically the check of a strong, conscientious, respected monarchy; morally it needs the guiding principle of a clearly developed sense of duty. Spain, unhappily, has had to bear through all the storms of this century, the load of a dynasty whose immorality and entire unconsciousness of duty would have brought the healthiest nation into agony. Imagine a century of George the Fourths! — Spain is more destitute of the moral foundation than perhaps any other European nation. The real question of her future, therefore, is intimately allied with that of a restoration of her moral and intellectual groundwork. The whole soul of the people rested on Catholicism at the outbreak of the revolution; its sinister arch spanned the whole moral horizon and intelligence of the people. At the head of the movement of 1808, Catholicism soon fell into passionate conflict with that movement; and that the latter was so savage in its character, so deeply undermining in its effects upon the people, was essentially its fault. The restorations of 1814 and

1823 rendered a reposeful development impossible,—destroyed the faith and trust of the people in its guides. The passions thus developed drove the constitutional beginnings, after the death of Ferdinand, astray. The burning of monasteries and murder of monks, illuminated, by a flash from hell, its process of education for the people. Its guidance of Carlist politics showed a mastery in the art of ruining those entrusted to its care. Catholicism, having brought Don Carlos to taste the bitter cup of exile, passed over to the other camp. Essentially due to it were the hindrances which Narvaez's intelligent conservative policy, experienced in the "forties ;" the revolution of 1854, again, was due to its blind pressure after a thorough-going Catholic restoration. Queen Isabella followed its whisperings when she constantly meddled with O'Donnell's policy, and its advice, when in the last years of her government she put herself in such opposition to the minister that the breach ensuing plunged her and her whole house into instant misery and banishment. Catholicism had wrecked the House of Habsburg ; it consummated its triumph by wrecking the House of Bourbon. When, in September, 1868, the land, almost with unanimity, let the royal house collapse under the measureless mass of its own iniquities, its indignation was less bitter against Isabella than against her spiritual advisers. The world was astounded to see how far the most Catholic of nations had loosed itself from its church. Out of hatred to this church the populations of the great cities actually began to look sympathetically on the advent of Protestantism in Spain. Heart and understanding had become equally estranged from the previously accepted

dogmatic faith. Sixty years of uninterrupted, immoral, and illiberal, spiritual tyranny, poisoning the whole period, frustrating all the hopes of the nation, had at last ended in the bursting of a chain which for nearly two thousand years had bound church and people together.

But with Catholicism, the firm foundation on which the Catholic nation rested is knocked away. No people, least of all the profoundly religious Spanish people, can exist without some strong moral basis. So much passion, fancy, extravagance, withdraws the intellectual life of the peninsula from the power of quiet philosophic meditation, its moral life from sober, moral guidance. Hence the chaos of the next six years. Unbridled haste, the traces of a nervous, paroxysmal constitution, the play and counterplay of splendid, but immature talent, convulsive heroism, followed closely by wretched depression, brief moments of great exaltation, and long years of ensuing enervation, endless propositions resulting in nothing, and impracticable reveries put forth by the scholar and statesman; all come out luminously and sorrowfully enough in Spanish literature, art, and life. Such is the picture of this richly-gifted people of noble tendencies, whom to know is to love and pity, whose fate it has been to be inconceivably misled and misguided by the very persons who should have guided and helped it.

The act which led to the immediate exile of Isabella, then enjoying the sea baths of San Sebastian, was the *Pronunciamiento* of Cadiz, of September 19, 1868, which bares to the quick the unendurable misery and dread of the country; fundamental laws trampled under foot;

the right to vote perverted by intimidation and bribery ; personal security, dependent not on the laws but on the irresponsible will of haphazard magistrates ; communal freedom extinct ; the executive and the exchequer a prey to vice and brokerage ; public instruction enslaved ; the press mute ; patents of nobility shamelessly lavished on favorites ; universal corruption throughout the administration. It was a cry which rang from one end of Europe to the other, a frightful awakening to Isabella and Father Claret. The signers of the *Pronunciamiento* were, Duke de la Torre, Juan Prim (since the Morocco and Mexican wars the great rival of O'Donnell), General Dulce, Francisco Serrano Bedoya, Ramon Nouvilas, R. Perimo de Rivera, A. Caballero de Rodas, and Juan Topete, — all men of unbounded influence. A provisional government was formed, — after some slight hostilities between the royal and the revolutionary troops at Alcolea, — with Serrano, as president of the ministry, Prim, as war minister, Lorenzana, as foreign secretary, Ortiz, minister of justice, Topete, minister of the marine, Figuerola, finance minister, Sagasta, minister of the interior, Zorilla, minister of commerce, and Lopez de Ayala for the colonies.

In 1869, the national cortes was convoked for the purpose of establishing a permanent form of government, the opening of which was saluted by vociferous cries of "Constitutional Monarchy !" "Democratic Monarchy !" "The Republic !" "The Federal Republic !" The Bourbon coat of arms was removed from the hall of parliament, and the crucifix vanished from the president's table. Serrano laid down his deputed authority in February, 1869. A committee of fifteen,

from whom the republican deputies were excluded, was assigned the work of drawing up a constitution. The restoration of a monarchical form of government, with constitutional guarantees, was a clearly enunciated point of this constitution. It established freedom of conscience, the principle that all sovereignty flowed from



MONTPENSIER, SERRANO, TOPETE.

the people, monarchy as the form of government (in opposition to two hundred republican journals and five hundred republican committees), a senate and council of state, and many other special determinations. It was signed on the 2d of June: magnificent inkstands,

prettily ornamented parchments, pens on silver waiters, and gold and ivory pen-holders set with brilliants, — one of the deputies had proposed eight great eagle-quills! — were supplied for subscribing to this mosaic work of Democrats, Progressists, and Unionists. The public celebration attending its solemn promulgation was without enthusiasm.

Marshal Serrano was named regent for the interregnum, during which the candidacies of the duke of Montpensier, Isabella's brother-in-law, and Don Fernando, king of Portugal, the unwilling representative of the so-called party of the "Iberian Union," were discussed and rejected, the first for dynastic considerations, the other because of Don Fernando's repugnance to attempting union between Spain and Portugal. Prim's candidate, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, the proximate occasion of the Franco-German war, was bitterly opposed by Napoleon III., the empress, and Rouher, president of the ministry, from a dread, it is said, of a re-establishment of the universal monarchy of Charles V. There were rumors, too, that the empress's antipathy to the Hohenzollern family, originating from their rejecting a certain marriage alliance proposed by her, was one of the causes of the war. It is impossible here to enter into Napoleon's criminal obstinacy in insisting that the king of Prussia, as the eldest of the Hohenzollern branch, should formally forbid Prince Leopold to persist in his candidacy. King William declined such a concession to French pique.

The prince's father, however, in view of possible complications and the angry feelings of France, withdrew his name in July, 1870. The friends of Espartero in-

sisted that the crown should be offered to him, the "old hermit of Logroño;" but he stubbornly and wisely refused.

The duke of Aosta, Don Amadeo, son of Victor Emanuel, then received (November 16) one hundred and ninety-one out of three hundred and eleven votes of



RUIZ ZORRILLA, PRIM, SAGASTA. .

the cortes, Montpensier twenty-seven, his duchess one, Espartero eight, Don Alfonso (son of Isabella), two, the Federal Republic sixty, the simple Republic one. The duke of Aosta was declared elected Constitutional King of Spain, under the title of Amadeo I.

The assassination of Marshal Prim (December 27-30), just before Amadeo's arrival, filled the country and the

high-hearted Savoyard king with gloom. "I am dying, but the king is coming. Long live the king!" were the soldier's last words.

Serrano surrendered his powers to the cortes and the king was duly sworn in, January 2, 1871.

On the 11th of February, 1873, Amadeo abdicated, and the "Republic succeeded the monarchy as quietly as one sentinel succeeds another." The Italian king had found it impossible to govern constitutionally in Spain; his life had been attempted; the queen was continually insulted by the wives of the grandees; one dissolution of parliament, and one change of cabinet after another, had failed to give him elements homogeneous, enlightened, unselfish, and patriotic enough to control a country in which republicanism had now made monstrous strides. "Spain for the Spaniards! Out with the Savoyard!" resounded through stranger-abhorring Spain. A king in round hat and white pantaloons, simple in manners, intolerant of hand-kissing and obsequiousness; a queen who dared to give birth to a prince without having the palace illuminated; an impassive, unemotional royal couple, promenading almost unattended through the streets of Madrid; matchless courage and simplicity; the heartiest desire to benefit the country by parliamentary and lawful methods, to heal its incurable wounds, to reconcile its irreconcilable parties, —all these things contributed to the departure of the king and queen to Portugal.

The Federal Republic was proclaimed by two hundred and fifty-eight votes of the cortes against thirty-two. The "*fuera los Borbones!*" of 1868, was succeeded by the "*al fin lo hemos logrado!*" (at last we

have it !) of the Republic of 1873. Two years of dictatorships now ensued ; a cruel picture over which it is refreshing to draw the veil. The beginning of republican institutions was, however, signalized by the negotiation of an important loan at twelve per cent., whereas, the monarchy had been forced to pay twenty to twenty-five per cent. The war in Cuba — begun in 1868 by the shameful excesses of the mother country, the tyranny of the irresponsible captains-general, the refusal of the home government to liberate the slaves, and to grant Cuba, after repeated promises lasting from 1820 to 1868,



PI Y MARGALL.

CASTELAR.

representation in the national cortes — still raged furiously, and was not to be extinguished till 1878. A new Carlist war also had broken out in the North.

On June 11, 1873, Señor Pi y Margall, a respectable archaeologist, jurist, journalist, political economist, and follower of Proudhon, was elected "president of the

executive power," but resigned in five weeks, unable to cope with the civil war breaking out all over the peninsula. Nicolas Salmeron, an adherent of the conservative republican party, called the "brain of the revolution," a popular and accomplished university professor, distinguished for his clear and comprehensive policy as dictator, held power for a few weeks, and was followed by the great orator and parliamentarian, Emilio Castelar, (born at Cadiz in 1831). The *Virginus* affair, during his administration,—the seizure of an American ship bearing supplies to the Cuban insurgents, and the shooting of many of her crew and officers,—came near involving the United States in conflict with Spain; but was satisfactorily adjusted by concessions on the part of Spain. Castelar's government—powerless likewise to grapple with the increasing anarchy, the deeds of violence everywhere, the Carlist and Cuban wars, the innumerable republics and bits of republics that had proclaimed themselves in the provinces, the financial and foreign difficulties—was ended by a *coup d'état* early in January, 1874, led by General Pavia and his soldiers, to "prevent the triumph of anarchy." Serrano was again entrusted with the presidency of the executive power, and, a reaction from the chaotic and incoherent republicanism of a nation totally unfit for it having taken place, on December 31, 1874, Don Alfonso (born November 28, 1857), eldest son of Isabella II,—a thoroughly educated young prince, brought up far from his ignoble mother, in England, France, and Austria,—was proclaimed king at Madrid. He landed at Barcelona and assumed the government January 9, 1875.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### ALFONSO XII AND THE QUEEN REGENT.

**U**NDER Alfonso XII, Spain was once more in the enjoyment of an hereditary constitutional monarchy. The king was inviolable; the executive rested in him, the legislative power was both king and cortes. Senate and congress now composed the cortes, and their meetings became annual. The king was empowered to convoke, suspend or dissolve the cortes, to appoint the president and the vice-president of the senate from the senate alone, and was supported by responsible ministers. In the old days, insurrections led by ambitious noblemen, were as frequent as they now are in the Latin speaking republics of America, and were responsible, notably in the case of the revolution of 1868, for the creation of innumerable political charlatans. While changes of administration during Alfonso's reign were at times accentuated by lesser scenes of bloodshed—owing to the fact, and notwithstanding that the constitution embraced all modern liberties,—Carlists and Republicans still continued to agitate on every possible occasion, and upon any pretext.

Local self-government was now extended to the



GENERAL MARTINEZ CAMPOS,  
Former Governor General of Cuba.

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various provinces, districts and communes with which, neither executive nor cortes were entitled to interfere, except in cases of arbitrary or unconstitutional assumption. A new ministry was formed under the presidency of Martinez Campos and deputies and senators from Cuba—fifty-two in all—were admitted for the first time to take part in the legislative deliberations of the nation. The population of the Caribbean Island then numbered 1,394,516, the combined population of Porto Rico and the Spanish possessions in Asia and Africa was estimated at 6,900,000, and that of the motherland according to the census of 1877, was placed at 16,623,384. The revenue for the fiscal year of 1878-9 was—wonderful to relate—3,000,000 pesetas in excess of the expenditures, and the exports which amounted to 431,300,000 pesetas were 34,000,000 more than the imports for the same period. The country, so far as the governing conditions made such a prospect possible, appeared equipped, and waiting to enter upon a period of prosperity and peace.

The speech from the throne announced a continuance of the exercise of liberal principles. The banishment of abuses in the administration was promised, a regime of rigid economy pledged, and positively the abolition of slavery in the Antilles. A bill was introduced upon the re-assembly of the Chambers in November, providing that "slavery should cease from the date of the declaration of the law," whenever such should appear in the "Official Gazette" of Havanna. The provisions embodied in

the bill however, met with no greater favor than those introduced for tariff legislation and other reforms. The ministry resigned. Another administration under the leadership of Canovas del Castillo, submitted a revised abolition measure, in which, time was the principal factor. The depleted condition of the public chest precluded all possibility of extinguishing the rights of the owners by the out and out purchase of the freedom of the slaves, so a gradual emancipation bill, the conditions of which, were eight years of obligatory provisional servitude, became law, in face of the strenuous opposition of the West Indian deputies, who loudly asseverated that it would satisfy "neither the owners nor the slaves."

Don Alfonso's first wife was his cousin Marie Mercedes, a daughter of the Duke of Montpensier, and the marriage was a love match. Six months later she died and the calamity almost broke his heart. Spain insisted upon another queen. On November 24th the king was married to the Archduchess Maria Christine, a daughter of Archduke Charles Ferdinand of Austria, who outlived him, and subsequently became regent. The execution of Juan Oliver y Moncasi which occurred in January, in expiation of his attempted assassination of the king in 1878, had not the desired deterrent effect, for upon December the 30th, another attempt was made by one Gonzalez, a waiter, who fired two shots at the king who was driving from the palace accompanied by the queen. An important treaty with China

came into operation in August. Its main features were the prohibition of contract and compulsory immigration but the protection of the ordinary celestial emigrant was guaranteed. Towards the end of August another revolt broke out in chronically disaffected Cuba. The negroes undertook to organize a provisional government, in imitation of the example set them by the native Cuban insurgents, and for a short time waged a merciless and indiscriminate war against the whites.

With the commencement of the year, General Martinez Campos sought through Señor Sagasta to strengthen the constitutional party. His active interference brought about the defeat of Canovas del Castillo, on a vote of want of confidence, and the political situation once more looked gravely critical. The provincial elections which followed, resulted in surprising majorities for the candidates of the ministerial party. The Dynastic Liberals carefully abstained from voting. On the opening of the cortes in December, the king promulgated the policy of his unreasonably disturbed kingdom in these hopeful words: "Spain" he asserted, "was actuated by no ambition abroad, and fettered by no fears at home, hence her true diplomatic endeavour, was to extend her commercial relations with Europe and America."

That the people, themselves, however, were not solely animated, or exclusively imbued, with a spirit of trade reform, is apparent from the fact, that a motion was offered in the senate "for the establish-

ment of two schools for the education of apprentices to the profession of *toreadors*." To the credit of the chamber, the motion, which was an unconscious satire upon Spanish progress, was withdrawn, the minister of education having in a partially apologetic speech pronounced against it. This session of the Chambers was remarkable for a succession of stormy debates. A Democratic manifesto was published in Madrid in April, signed by a large number of ex-deputies and senators, and many leading journalists, demanding (1) religious liberty of the press, (2) greater liberty of public meeting, (3) universal suffrage, (4) decentralization, (5) obligatory military service, (6) economy in the public service, (7) individual rights, (8) and the irremovability of the judges; but the nation was not in the humor to acknowledge the necessity for such drastic reforms.

A coalition was effected in May between Señor Sagasta and Alonzo Martinez as the leaders of Dynastic Liberalism, with Martinez Campos and his party who united against Canovas del Castillo, and the conservative ministry, which had been enjoying the sweets of office for six years. Marshal Serrano while openly declaring his allegiance to Dynastic Liberalism preferred to remain in political retirement, and scan as a bystander the entertaining vagaries of Spanish political intrigue.

While the insurrection in Cuba had been quelled, and surface tranquillity restored, after the capture and punishment of the leaders of the rebellion, the

Carlists and Ultramontanes upon the frontier, continued to arouse the suspicion of the authorities by their reported activity. The pulpit was again utilized as the political rostrum, and the governors of the Basque provinces were instructed to warn, and place under surveillance, those of the clergy who preached sedition. Otero was finally executed for his attempt upon the life of the king, though the latter had personally extended his royal pardon. The regal clemency was however qualified, and nullified by the proviso, that notwithstanding Alfonso's own individual wishes in the matter, he would "have to submit the question to his responsible ministers."

In 1881 opposition to Canovas' ministry was manifested to a marked extent. The malcontents were further encouraged by the telling speeches of Sagasta, the leader of the Liberal Dynastic party, who accused Canovas of a desire to remain in power, merely for base self-interest, and at the sacrifice of the weal of the country. A lesson he declared should be drawn from "English politics, where patriotism and liberty distinguished the policy of public men." Though Canovas insisted that he retained the confidence of the Crown, a dissolution of the cortes soon followed by royal decree, and the first ministry ever formed under a Liberal Dynastic government, led by Sagasta, was inaugurated in September.

In his next speech from the throne, in the delivery of which, from frequent similar opportunities, the king had become proficient, he was insistent in his

hopes for a definitive alliance of the two conflicting elements which composed the political community in Spain, "by giving satisfaction to one in the traditional symbol of monarchy, and tranquillizing the other, with respect to the due development of liberal ideas."

"Spain," so ran the speech, "enjoyed the benefits of universal peace. The relations with the Holy See, and with the foreign powers, were most cordial, and the satisfactory results of the negotiations with the French republic on the Saida question" (referring to the indemnities to be paid by the French Government to the Spanish victims), "once more proved the firm friendship existing between the two countries." The pointed reference to the cordiality of Franco-Spanish relations was specially well advised for rumors were afloat that Germany was seeking to create estrangement between the two nations. No less a personage, however, than M. Jules Ferry announced that France was only awaiting to embrace an opportunity "for introducing Spain into the European concert." A move according to the *London Times*, that would have met with continental appreciation, for "was not the young king of Spain a popular and liberal sovereign? Were not the Spanish ambassadors, men who had earned respect, and now that Spain's old strifes were allayed, and her finances and resources reviving, there would be universal congratulations, should her representatives again take their seats among those of the great powers."

But the time had not yet come for the complete rehabilitation of Spain.

In 1881 a split in the Republican party occurred among the adherents of the fast collapsing revolutionary wing, compelling a modification of the policy of Señor Castelar. The establishment of a republic was now only advocated conditionally, "If it could be obtained by peaceful and legitimate means." A diversion in its broadest sense was created about this time by a Cuban senator who asked to be enlightened as to what negotiations had been entered into with Great Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar. In October Madrid was *en fête*, the loyal complement of its 500,000 inhabitants was invoked to do honor to the king, upon the occasion of his investiture of the Order of the Garter, which was performed with full ceremonials. This function in the case of a king of Spain had not taken place within the last 300 years. Then, instead of rolling over the wild, separating plain between Valladolid and the capital, in the luxurious comfort of a railway carriage, the Spanish monarch had to traverse on horseback the tenebrous forests which encompassed the city, prepared for an encounter with the wild beasts of Castile.

In 1882 a plan for the re-organization of the army was introduced. It provided for a twelve year compulsory term of service, by conscription, by means of which the mobilization of 400,000 men was made possible. The strength of the standing army was raised to 95,000. This, together with

the scheme for the strengthening of the navy, meant a levy which would make the increased taxation amount to nearly 70,000,000 pesetas. A feeling of intense bitterness continued to be developed in regard to what was termed England's unfair retention of Gibraltar, for not only were the Spaniards desperately reluctant to surrender the "key to the Mediterranean" in the first place, but time had obliterated recollection of the state of affairs which rendered its surrender a matter of compulsion, and to this day they hopefully look forward to the time when the red and yellow standard will float above its frowning and impregnable buttresses. Indeed it is stated, as a pitiful, but perhaps diplomatic fact, that the governor of Algeciras makes a daily report to his government, advising the Secretary of State that "a force of British soldiers is actually still in temporary possession of the fortress." This state of things was further aggravated by England's ignoring of Spain's asserted sovereign rights in Borneo, in the matter of the occupation by a chartered English company of certain territory in the northern part of the island. This feeling was further intensified by Britain's refusal of Spain's request that she be permitted to take part in the conference of the Great Powers upon the Egyptian question, held at Constantinople. With the exception of France who evaded the issue, all the other powers were willing to accede to her demand.

Comachos' financial policy, which resulted in the formulating of his famous reform bill in 1881, was

now approved by the cortes. It provided for a four per cent. loan of 1,800,000,000 pesetas which called for the conversion of the privileged and floating public debt, and was the ultimate means of placing the finances of the country in a more satisfactory condition than ever before. The policy of the government which was now pointing, nay "trending towards free-trade," served to excite the suspicion of the restless and dissatisfied manufacturing class. Through intimidation on the part of the turbulent factory hands, the workshops in Barcelona and other industrial centers were closed. Encouraged by the prevailing state of disorder, lawless mobs in various sections of Catalonia made hostile demonstrations, necessitating the establishment of martial law, and bad harvests in Andalusia, and endemic political discontent, marked the close of the year. The fever of socialism, only dormant, was encouraged into active manifestation, by ever recurring and untoward political incidents. The contagion spread through the Peninsula. A Nihilistic Society called the "Black Hand," was organized in Andalusia, and by the following February, 1,000 anarchists were languishing in prison while 9,000 active members of the *Mano Negra* were scattered through the land. The stability of Sagasta's ministry was severely tested and as the people were fully cognizant of the fact that the successive ministries whether liberal or reform, were in power solely through the instrumentality of corruption and intrigue, rather than by the honest expression

of popular will, little wonder that dissension was rampant. Even the troops became saturated in some instances with the spirit of sedition. At Badajoz a military revolt occurred, and the citadel was seized by the soldiers in the name of the republic, and similar outbreaks followed in other places.

As a not unnatural outcome, a conflict arose between Sagasta and his liberal adherents on the one hand and the Minister of War and his friends on the other, as to the policy to be pursued, and the inevitable crisis followed, precipitated it is alleged by a misadventure which befell Don Alfonso in the streets of Paris, when, upon his return journey from the German Court. The fact that he had received at the hands of the cordially detested Emperor, the title of Colonel in the German army, aroused the indignation of the Parisian mob, who received him with jeers and hootings, and cry of "down with the Uhlan King!" an insult for which prompt satisfaction was demanded and obtained from President Grévy on behalf of the French government. Once more a change of ministry followed, and the king who was bent upon experimenting, committed into the hands of Señor Posada, one of the oldest statesmen in Spain, the almost impossible task of conducting a government already overfreighted with pledges, and Sagasta's ministry was upset by the Monarchical Democracy—the Dynastic Left—which demanded crucial reforms, formulated chiefly by Marshal Serrano and Moret the Orator.

Chief among these were the revision of the Constitution, universal suffrage and the re-establishment of civil marriage. The change was productive of no improvement. It was obvious that the vaunted measures of reform could not be accomplished without the co-operation of the Sagasta party, though a majority of his adherents were inimical to the principal planks which comprised the new political platform. The king at last discerning that Posada would be unable to secure Sagasta's support, again resorted to heroic measures, recalled the Conservatives, and on January 18th, 1884, once more invited Canovas del Castillo to form a cabinet. While the bulk of the Spanish nation supports the views of the Liberals, "the irreconcilable differences between the Liberal Monarchists and the Republicans who were much the strongest section, rendered the Conservatives in the opinion of King Alfonso more capable of government."

The new ministry—four of which were members of Canovas' former cabinet at once came into direct collision with the Republicans. The banquet in commemoration of the proclamation of the Republic in 1873 was forbidden, and an indignant partizan press overflowing with remonstrance was suppressed by autocratic censorship. A Republican revolutionary movement followed. Telegraph lines, railways and bridges were demolished, agrarian outrages occurred and isolated attempts at civil war inflamed and demonstrated the pulse of the people. The revenues fell short, Sagasta met his obligations with

difficulty. The tumultuous spirit of the times infected even the students in Madrid. "The Liberals held public demonstrations against the Ultramontane party on the streets, enlisting the sympathy of the high schools throughout the land, and were repressed only by active police interference."

While the cholera was raging in the province of Murcia, the king with singular courage insisted on visiting the infected district, desisting only, when Canovas, who strenuously objected to the unnecessary risk and sacrifice of state interests, threatened to resign; but a secret visit to Aranjuez was subsequently undertaken—whether this contributed to his known delicate condition is not recorded, but the seeds of inherent consumption rapidly developed, and accelerated by an attack of dysentery, the death of Alfonso came suddenly and unexpectedly, on November 25th, 1885, the same day that the treaty acknowledging Spain's sovereignty over the Carolines, was signed in London and Berlin. Though his condition was partly suspected by the people, rumors of his consumptive tendency were persistently denied, and the announcement of his death was an unexpected blow. The body of the brave and frank young man who, eleven years before when the throne was proffered to him, ingenuously replied that "he had no objection and would at least try what he could do," was conveyed to and buried with great pomp at the Escorial, the doors of which were thrown open for the first time since the funeral obsequies of his grandfather, Ferdinand VII.

Though the chronicles of the reign of Alfonso XII record no extraordinary achievement, he made no serious mistakes, the decade of his rule was a time of relative prosperity and improvement, and the ever intriguing politicians of the cortes gained nothing by quarreling with him. The crying want of Spain has been and still is, expedition. In administrative matters, years are consumed in the disposal of affairs, which should be put through in as many weeks. "Mexico," writes Lawson (1890) "under President Diaz has made greater progress in the past three or four years than Spain has done in thirty. . . . Had Alfonso been spared, he might have become such another ruler. . . . The fortunes of Spain depend largely on the appearance of such a man. A great occasion awaits him." By Alfonso's death his eldest daughter, five years of age, became Queen of Spain, subject to the possibility of the widowed Queen Christina—the regent—who was *enceinte*, becoming the mother of a son.

Upon the advice of the veteran Canovas, a liberal ministry was constituted, with Sagasta as President of the Council, Canovas promising his support, "from the same patriotic motives which had induced him to resign." No sooner was Alfonso decently at rest in the royal catafalque, than his relatives commenced to intrigue against the Queen Regent. She was a foreigner, imbued by accident of birth with Austrian and German sympathies. In December she took the oath of allegiance to the constitution. The designs of the Bourbons to upset, if

possible, the influence of the queen, was manifested by the betrothal of Alfonso's sister the Infanta Eulalia, to the only son of the Duc de Montpensier.

The declaration signed at Madrid in the last days of 1884, which was to secure the establishment of a commercial *modus vivendi* between Spain and Great Britain, was, owing to constant recriminations and counter-charges of bad faith between the contracting parties, declared off. Another widespread conspiracy of Republican revolutionists came to light in Catalonia, the leaders of which were tried by court-martial and shot. These belligerent demonstrations were now periodically expected, and popular disappointment followed, if insurrection in some form did not occur, in accordance with the settled programme of predicted events. As a significant offset to this, a protocol recognizing Spain's sovereignty over the Sulu Archipelago was signed by the representatives of Great Britain and Germany, at Madrid, the Spanish Government at the same time renouncing all claim to its former dominion on the island of Borneo.

The general election which took place in April, 1886, following upon the dissolution of the cortes, owing to Romero Robledos' attack upon Canovas, resulted in a crushing defeat of the opposition. Sagasta promised the application of the provisions of the old guarantee law of 1885, which provided for the extension of the franchise, and trial by jury, and even agreed to bow to the voice of the nation, "if it emphatically pronounced in favor of a

republic." To this Salmeron the leader of the progressive Republicans retorted, that the country was a witness to the fact that, Sagasta had "renounced the way of peace." "You are answerable for the events you have invoked," he shouted, "to us belongs the sacred right of revolution!"

On May 17th, 1886, the Queen Regent gave birth to Alfonso XIII, the posthumous son of Alfonso XII.

In September yet another revolt came in fulfillment of popular prophecy. Four hundred soldiers under the command of Gen. Villafranca paraded the streets of Madrid, and cheered for the republic. The insurgents were supported by many civilians, the arsenal was looted, and it was not until Gen. Pavia the governor of Madrid, with the Gendarmerie, reinforced by several regiments of cavalry and infantry, and a battery of artillery appeared upon the scene, that the rebellious troops were routed, and in some instances, driven across the French frontier. Ten thousand men were said to have been implicated in the insurrection. Count Mirasol, Gen. Velardo and many other loyalists were killed. Gen. Villafranca was captured and condemned to death, but the unrestrained excitement of the masses, suggested a commutation of the sentence, and he was exiled to the island of Fernando Po, while twenty-seven of his active co-conspirators were condemned to penal servitude in Africa.

A commercial treaty was at last ratified with

Great Britain after tedious negotiations, carried on by Minister Moret. He, however, only incurred the displeasure of the people for his diplomatic interference. The treaty created intense dissatisfaction among the manufacturers and artisans, who declared that the introduction of cheap British goods would ruin them, while the Caribbean colonists viewed a competition with East India products with alarm. Popular discontent was too plainly in evidence, and the outlook for 1887 looked anything but inviting. The national debt was rolling up with a monotonous regularity worthy of a better cause, and the taxes pressed heavily on the over-burdened people. The standing army increase, made necessary by the restless condition of the dissatisfied masses, with its reconstructed strength of one hundred and thirty-one thousand men, together with maintenance of the navy, exacted nearly one-fourth of the total of the annual public appropriations voted for all purposes of expenditure, while the sum expended upon public works was little more than one-eighth. In Catalonia alone twenty thousand laborers were crying for work. Dynamite bombs had been discovered in the legislative chamber; concealed explosives had been detected in Madrid, and the government was constrained to exercise unceasing vigilance, and suppress every outward sign of popular demonstration. Meanwhile Sagasta by slow degrees was redeeming his pledges of reform. Trial by jury at last received the sanction of the cortes, and the Vatican was persuaded to recog-

nize a qualified form of civil marriage. By the elevation of their respective ministers at Madrid to the rank of ambassadors, England, Germany, Austria, and Italy proclaimed the promotion of Spain's status, and she was at last recognized as a "great power."

In July of the same year the Caroline Islands became the theater of a revolt among the natives, brought about by administrative abuses. In addition to other high-handed acts, the governor, Captain Posadillo, had undertaken to expel the American missionaries and to suppress the schools. Mr. Deane was finally taken in chains to Manila, an act which so provoked the natives that an attack was made on the Spanish garrison and a general rebellion followed, attended with bloodshed and loss of life. Later on through the intervention of the United States government, the authorities at Madrid enforced the recognition of treaty rights by the colonial administration and indemnification was demanded. Spain now sought to obtain a footing on Egyptian soil, and a strip of land on the Red Sea littoral, south of Massowah was purchased from the resident chiefs after the securing of Italy's consent.

Notwithstanding the cry of hard-times, the commerce of the country defied limitation, and trade as determined by the value of exports and imports steadily increased. Cadiz' annual assimilation of \$1,000,000 worth of German beet-root sugar, which it utilized in the compounding of its golden sherries,

made it possible for it to export 130,000,000 gallons of wine to France alone ; Rio Tinto with its 5,000 acres of copper mines contributed a measurable quota of Spain's shipments to other lands, while Bilbao with its almost unequaled output of hematite, swelled the ocean tonnage and continued to amaze the world. The national resources of Spain are so vast, her commercial facilities so rare, and her national character in many respects so sound, that "her regeneration," according to Lawson, "when it once begins, will flash through the land like a flood of sunlight."

With due regard for the consistent maintenance of political disturbance, a ministerial crisis of almost one year's duration and which only terminated after the repeated resignations of Sagasta and his ministry, all but monopolized the attention of the people during the entire year. In opposition to the "trial by jury" bill, Canovas proposed to raise the grain duties, which he insisted demanded more immediate attention. An agrarian league was formed with a Liberal ex-minister Gamazo, at its head. A reduction of 50,000,000 pesetas off the land-tax was demanded. A compromise however was effected, the government conceding a reduction of 18,000,000, and lower railroad rates for agricultural and mining products, and promising to spend large sums on public works. The abatement of the fever of political intrigue was only temporary; the merest excuse was alone necessary to arouse the latent passions of the now numerous political sub-factions,

and this was soon presented in the shape of an empty question of military etiquette. In the absence of the queen at Valencia, the Infanta Isabella was her accredited representative. The latter, however, also decided to undertake a journey; the military watchword she informed Gen. Martinez Campos would be disclosed by her sister, the Infanta Eulalia. This the military governor refused to consent to, upon the ground that the married Infanta was not legally a competent custodian, and that it would not be possible, according to military discipline, for him to receive the pass-word from her husband the Duc de Montpensier, who was simply a captain. The Minister of War interfered and Gen. Campos resigned; endless factional complications followed and as the quarrel proved to be beyond possibility of adjustment, Sagasta and his cabinet resigned. The queen again requested him to form a new ministry. He consented, but ministerial intrigue and unpardonable differences, over inconsequential acts of administrative policy, once more compassed his moral defeat, and he again tendered the resignation of his cabinet; but he was invited to constitute yet another ministry, and he yielded to the solicitation of the queen, and again consented.

In the elevation of the international status of Spain, the Spaniards encouraged themselves to believe that "the day was near at hand when their country would take the lead in the Latin League comprising Spain, France, Belgium, and Italy, with

the Spanish republics of South and Central America, over which when strengthened by the acquisition of Morocco, the supremacy of the mother country would be reasserted, and Spain would be restored to a leading position among the European powers." This alliance which would obviously militate against the expansion of German power, yet remains unaccomplished and a remote and very problematical possibility.

Besides the political obstacles with which Sagasta had to contend, malfeasance of office was traced to the officials of the Civil Government. In 1888 12,000,000 pesetas were embezzled by public custodians, and the receipts upon an average fell short of the expenditures by 60,000,000 pesetas annually. The weakness of governmental Spain has long rested in its civil service, the treasury being fairly eaten up by officials. In 1890 its accumulated deficits amounted to £9,000,000 sterling. In June of this year after extraordinary efforts on the part of Sagasta, to effect a reconciliation with the most powerful of the Liberal dissentients, in which he was surprisingly successful, Canovas—upon the principle adopted by Alfonso of calling upon the chiefs of either party alternately—was entrusted by the queen with the reins of office. Labor unions sprang into existence, the outcome of tariff reforms, and commercial depression; the doctrine of the eight hour movement was hotly promulgated, and strikes became general. The first cortes under the regency was dissolved December 30th, 1890, through effluxion

of time, its legal term of life for five years having expired. One of the most important measures of the ensuing year passed by the new cortes, was that which gave the bank of Spain power to increase its note issue to 1,500,000,000 pesetas, for which "mischievous concession" the government obtained an advance of 150,000,000 pesetas for thirty years without interest, 87,000,000 of which was to be expended on naval construction. Subsequent legislation provided for another issue of government four per cent. bonds, to the extent of 250,000,000 pesetas additional, to mature in thirty years. But all measures whether political or financial seemed powerless to lift the country out of the atmosphere of depression and calamity which literally possessed it. Insurrection followed revolt; revolts were the offspring of riots, and riots the outcome of labor demonstrations which were in turn consequent upon the caprices of rival political factions.

To make matters worse disastrous floods, accompanied by wholesale ruin and loss of life, filled the cup of national bitterness and humiliation to the brim.

The scandalous administration of municipal affairs in Madrid, and government interference, led to Canovas' overthrow in 1892, and Sagasta was again called upon to form a ministry. Previous to this, labor troubles and strikes had reached high-water mark. For a month the picks and shovels of the Bilbao miners were rusty with disuse. In Barcelona the rioters defied the troops and neces-

sitated the proclamation of martial law; while in Madrid, even the market women deserted their stalls and challenged the soldiers with their broomsticks. In 1893 the premier, Sigñor Sagasta was stoned by a mob in San Sebastian, where the regent was visiting, and the queen's band was mobbed for refusing to play the Basque national anthem. The situation finally became so serious that civil war, gravely portentous, at last shadowed the political horizon with its threatening flag.

While the queen herself was more than willing to set an example of retrenchment, in order to popularize Gamazo's programme of financial reform and was ready to sacrifice 1,000,000 pesetas of the civil list, an army of office-holding vultures coalesced, for the purpose of frustrating the passage of any measure, affecting their pockets. Rich men evaded the tax-collector, and when the minister of justice proposed to consolidate the scattered district courts, the "lawyers struck, and refused to plead!" Sagasta undaunted, still fought for reform. The year closed with the out-generalship of the Republican coalition by Sagasta, and the retirement of Castelar from public life.

Spain of to-day is still a land largely unknown, indeed so much of a *terra incognita*, that the French, according to Margaret Thomas, have the audacity to say, that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees." The remarks of Théophile Gautier published some years ago are still largely true of to-day. "A journey in Spain," he declared, "is a

romantic and perilous affair. You may have to risk your life and will need courage, patience and strength. . . . Peril encircles you, follows you, goes before you, is all around you." O'Shea tells us, that "none of the older countries are so little known, even to the English, yet in none is the soil fertilized by so much British blood." Though why Spain should be so studiously avoided, it is yet hard to say, for the land is replete with scenic wonders, and rich with mellow memories, and historical traditions. The present, owing to the civilizing influences of the railway, now stands out in bold contrast against the past. At La Rabida, in Huelva Bay, from which Columbus sailed to discover the new world, is a hotel named in honor of the distinguished navigator, which for equipment and modern luxury is regarded as the best south of Paris. Though between Valladolid and Madrid the traveler traverses hundreds of miles of a "treeless, barren, hopeless-looking desert, water-less, cattle-less, and lifeless," when he reaches the capital, he yet finds a city, with an essentially modern European aspect, and one, that though known for nearly 1,000 years, has never been thoroughly Spanish, and in which 300,000 of its 500,000 people have been added in the last thirty years. He can exploit Andalusia, the Garden of Spain, famous—if Finck is to be depended upon—for its orange groves, its tropical vegetation, its blue sky and its women; or in Cordova, a town of 50,000 inhabitants, he can moralize over its unrivalled greatness of 1,000 years

ago, when it contained a population of 1,000,000 and was the most important city in Europe. At Seville he can contemplate a cathedral that has no parallel, with its eighty-two altars, one hundred officiating priests, and its Greek, Roman, Gothic, Phœnician, Moorish and Catholic contrasts, and can halt at Cadiz, and linger over a glass of topaz-colored sherry, and his own reminiscences, at one and the same time.

Naturally, one of the richest countries in the world, Spain remains a rare combination of contradictions. A nation which should advance but does not. After the hegira of the Romans it declined. The Moorish Conquest was its regeneration, for says Lawson, "it shed the light of science and literature over the southern half of the peninsula, when all the rest of Europe was plunged in monkish darkness." With the departure of the Moors, as has been previously recorded, Granada relapsed into stagnation and barbarism. So also with the literature of the country. The libraries of Spain contain few modern native works of universal or even national importance. Spanish eloquence has ever had a naturally bombastic tendency, and when literature began to decay, its defects became more marked. "At the end of the 17th century, the sun of Spanish glory set, and with it the sun of Spanish literature so suddenly and completely, as not to leave an afterglow behind it."

"Why should not Spain accomplish what her Mexican descendants have achieved?"

"It remained" says a prominent writer, "for a foreigner, Columbus, to open the gates to a new world and permit Spain to recoup herself out of the treasures of Mexico and Peru. She led Europe under Charles V, but her financial rule has since been such, that it needs either a thorough reform or a catastrophe, for in the long array of Presidents of Council, only Sagasta and Canovas, have succeeded in establishing any recognizable control, or any moral ascendancy over the governing machine."

The world is now awaiting with restless expectancy, the advent of another Columbus, in the guise of a great statesman, who will speedily accomplish the practical and permanent reformation of the modern kingdom of Spain.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### ALFONSO XIII. AND THE REGENCY.\*

UNDER Maria Christina, the Queen-Regent, the Spanish court, which has too often been an example of all that was loathsome in vice and shameless in depravity, has been pure and cleanly. Party intrigue, the bane of Spanish politics, has perhaps not been less rife, but it has had no encouragement from the discreet and honorable minded woman who now for twelve years has borne vicariously the duties and responsibilities of royalty. Her great tact, no less than her high personal character, has done much to promote peace in the ranks of party and quell the spirit of disaffection and the fierce outbreakings of sedition. But her sweetness of disposition and the gallantry due to her sex have not made governing easy or given length of days to ephemeral ministries. She has, however, made herself popular with the nation, and lived down the objection to her as a foreigner—the widow only of a Spanish King. She has also endeared herself

*\* This and the following chapter are from the pen of the Editor and writer of the Introduction.*

by maternal devotion and the care she has taken of the young King, her delicate son, on whom she has lavished a mother's tender solicitude and love. Her quiet manner of life and the happiness she takes in the care and education of her children, while at the same time fulfilling in an exemplary way her duties as Queen-Regent, have given her a hold on the interests and affections of the nation. Her dignified and queenly bearing, in announcing to the Cortes the outbreak of war with the United States, moreover, touched Spanish pride, and has added to the pathos of the position in which she finds herself as defender of the throne of her boy-king. "Among all the confusion," says a recent writer, "of Spanish politics, the whirlwind of rejoicing, lamentation, intrigue, religion, corruption, collective patriotism, and individual grabbing, there is one noble figure which prominently stands out in vivid contrast, a model of virtue and enviable tact. Her Majesty, the Queen-Regent, notwithstanding her foreign birth, knows exactly how to do the right thing at the right moment with exquisite taste. She has won by her charitableness the adoration of the masses; by her gracious sympathy the love of the middle classes; and by her clear comprehension of all that is traditionally Spanish, the esteem and admiration of the aristocracy."

The good sense of the *reina regenta* and her practical wisdom are never better shown than in dealing with the politicians, whether they are

grandeos or men who, by their abilities or by force of circumstances, have risen to influence in the nation. Her own personal wealth enables her to put the annual appropriation for the civil list at the disposal of the financial administration, and in this respect, as well as in the many gifts, often of large sums, which she has repeatedly diverted from the crown to the purposes of the national treasury, the Queen has set a noble example of disinterestedness and patriotism. In these beneficent acts, as well as in her boundless charities, Maria Christina has shown herself to be an Austrian rather than a Spaniard. As we have said, her most notable characteristic as a ruler is her tact in managing the chiefs of parties and in smoothing the often stormy waters of governmental politics. Her gentleness from the first appealed to Spanish chivalry, and especially so after she became a widow and mother of the infant King. It was this feeling that led Castelar, when revolution broke out anew, after the death of Alfonso XII., to exclaim: "Spaniards cannot fight against a woman or against a child in his cradle." It is said by a recent writer that the same statesman-orator made a speech at this time which had all the highest qualities of an inspired utterance. It was the speech in which Señor Castelar drew a picture of the widowed Queen, after the death of her husband, "drawing to her all hearts by the dignity with which she bore her great sorrow, and carrying in her arms the young life that was the hope of Spain."

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ALFONSO XIII, KING OF SPAIN. Digitized by Google

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It is, of course, premature to speculate on the disposition and mental gifts of the young King, though not a little depends upon the question whether the boy-monarch will turn out to be a Philip II. or a Charles III. This, however, may be said, that whatever good he comes to, he will owe much to the careful nurture and to the many and endearing qualities of his noble and devoted mother. With the many turbulent elements in the nation, and the readiness with which the flame of revolution periodically bursts forth, that Fate will be kind to the régime of Alfonso XIII. is perhaps more than can be expected, even if the war with the United States does not precipitate internal conflict in which the monarchy will once more be engulfed. Already the Carlists are again giving trouble, and, if socialistic violence be repressed, it is not so sure that ere the war is over Don Carlos may not once more be a factor in unsettling the occupancy of the throne and further chequering the path of Spain's destiny.

But it is not so much Carlism, as political incapacity and indifference in the nation, that Spain has most to fear. She was not wont to be so spiritless before she fell from the primacy of Europe. Are the puissant days then over of religion and militarism in Spain? Castelar has told us that Loyola's jesuitry, which put the Spanish mind in fetters and prescribed what it was to think and believe, has robbed the people of enduring and self-reliant manhood, and made them a race of weaklings. This would seem to be confirmed by the trance that

has come over her arms in her revolted colonies, the Philippines and Cuba. It is, moreover, confirmed in Spain itself by the mediævalism in which the country appears still to linger, if the religious spectacles that occur constantly in Madrid, and the abject superstition which they imply, are to be taken as a criterion. One of these spectacles was recently witnessed, in which the bones of a thirteenth-century saint were carried in solemn procession through the streets by eight hundred priests, and a nine days' service afterward held at the Cathedral, attended by the Queen-Regent and her ministers—with the design of terminating, by prayerful intercession, the war in Cuba and a period of prolonged drought!

Of the religious significance of all this, writes a contemporary journal,\* in alluding to the affair, "we say nothing, but as a chunk of pure mediævalism it has the highest political significance. It shows how poor is the pretense that Spain is really a part of the modern world. Much as she has undeniably advanced since the revolution of 1868, many as are her partial adjustments to present-day conditions, it is evident that the political ideas of the great majority of her people remain those of the time of the Armada. Philip really relied upon San Lorenzo more than upon his ships, and Madrid clearly thinks better of the fighting qualities of San Isidor (the saint whose bones were paraded in the streets) than of her generals. What can the most

\* *The New York Evening Post.*

enlightened ministers do when they have to get on, under universal suffrage, with a people who put their political trust in a saint's relics? It seems idle to ask when Spain is going to reform and modernize her government of Cuba and other colonial possessions; she has first to accomplish the harder task of reforming and modernizing the Spanish mind."

To take up the thread of the political narrative, we have to chronicle that in 1892 Canovas del Castillo, the Conservative premier, was compelled to yield the reins of government to his Republican rival, Señor Sagasta, the leader of the Liberals. No administration, however, could well be stable with so many contending parties and diverse interests in the State. Sometimes these parties would for certain objects temporarily coalesce, but, in the main, they have generally been bitterly antagonistic. Of recent years, the Liberals, perhaps, have enjoyed more fully than has any one of the other parties the sweets of office. In March, 1893, a general election was held which resulted in sustaining Sagasta's ministry. The poll stood as follows: 322 Liberals (supporters of Sagasta), 48 Conservatives led by Señor Canovas del Castillo, 15 dissident Conservatives, under Señor Silvela, 23 extreme Republicans, 16 moderate Republicans, or Possibilists, led by Castelar, and 6 Carlists. In May following, the adhesion of the Possibilists to the Liberal policy of Señor Sagasta was announced, and soon after Señor Castelar concluded to abandon

politics and retire into private life. The retirement of this prominent statesman and orator was a great loss to the nation, since he is not only an able politician, bent on many useful reforms, with an eloquent tongue and pen by which to advocate them, but a man of honor and honesty, as well as of progressive ideas. Like most literary parliamentarians; however, he lacked vigor and action, and was hardly strong enough, if he even cared for the task, to front persistent opposition, and overrule the reactionary elements in the Cortes and the precincts of the Court. His loss to politics has since, however, been a gain to literature.

Dissensions in Sagasta's cabinet led, in March, 1895, to the recall of Canovas del Castillo, who formed a government which was sustained at the general election of the following year by 300 Conservatives, who felt strongly about the suppression of the rebellion that had once more (1895) broken out in Cuba, and now, also, in the Philippine Islands. At this juncture General Martinez Campos was recalled from Cuba, and General Weyler was appointed Captain-General in his place. The complexion of the administration was at this time also influenced by animosity towards the United States, owing to the proposal in Congress to recognize the Cuban insurgents as belligerents. The disturbances in Cuba and the Philippines caused another heavy drain upon the national exchequer, which, alas! was to go on for several years further, with no good results to Spain, and the probability of losing her



**D. VALERIANO WEYLER.**

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two chief colonial possessions, and her money as well. The situation was at this time more embarrassing, in consequence of declining trade, dissatisfaction with the fiscal policy of the administration, want of confidence in the government, and widespread discontent among the people. Nor did matters improve with a new outbreak of the anarchic elements in several of the seaport cities, which found expression in dynamite outrages and the diabolical throwing of bomb-shells into the crowded streets. The town of Barcelona was especially subject to these horrors, insomuch so that for a time the Constitution was suspended in the province of that name, to facilitate the process of arrest and the search of suspected persons and houses. A calamitous sequel to this affair, which occurred on June 7, 1896, cost the life of Spain's most upright and able statesman within fourteen months after the occurrences in Barcelona. The premier, A. Canovas del Castillo, had for forty years fought the anarchists and their secret organizations with great vigor, and after the bomb-throwing at Barcelona it was through his efforts that the chief conspirators were run down and punished. For this he became the mark, and later on the victim, of an assassin, a Neapolitan named Angiolillo, who accomplished his foul deed of killing the premier on August 8, 1897, at the baths of Santa Aqueda. The infamous deed shot a pang of horror throughout Spain, and indeed throughout Christendom, for Castillo was not only the bulwark of legitimate and constitu-

tional monarchy in Spain, but one of her ablest and most illustrious sons.

For the moment, General Azcarraga, minister of war, acted provisionally as premier to tide the country over the crisis. The chronic trouble in Cuba, however, interfered with the continuance of a Conservative government, and in October a Liberal ministry was formed, under the leadership of Señor Sagasta, who, since the fall of the republic, had alternately held the reins of office with the fallen premier. On again attaining power, Sagasta arranged for fresh loans, through the Bank of Spain, to make increased provision for the country's defence, in view of possible complications with the United States over Cuba, as well as to enable the Spanish government, if possible, to suppress disaffection in the Philippine Islands, and end the prolonged conflict in Cuba. In the Philippines the insurgents continued to prosecute their campaign for freedom, and in September (1897) they claimed to have won a battle near San Rafael, inflicting a severe loss on the Spanish troops. They are understood, however, to be relying mostly upon guerilla methods of warfare, and in this respect following the fashion set by the Cuban insurgents. The latest accounts, previous, of course, to the advent of Admiral Dewey, chronicled in the following chapter, state that the pacification of the islands was near, owing to the proposed surrender of twenty-four insurgent chiefs. In March of the present year (1898), reports from Manila throw doubt upon

the surrender of the chiefs, and affirm that the revolt, in the principal islands of the group, is as formidable as ever.

With regard to Cuba, one of the chief results of the accession of the Sagasta administration was the decision to recall General Weyler from the captain-generalcy of the island, to rescind the policy of penning up the reconcentrados, initiated by Weyler in February, 1896, and to offer a measure of autonomy to Cuba. These ameliorations were due to the efforts of the United States Government, acting through General Woodford, its minister at Madrid. The instructions given General Woodford were to represent to the Spanish colonial office the desire of the United States to lend its aid, through diplomacy, in ending the war in Cuba, on methods just and honorable alike to Spain and the Cuban people. They also included a recital of the long series of events, which were proving the ruin of the island and causing the decimation of the people, as well as entailing serious loss and injury to the United States and its commerce. The instructions, moreover, directed General Woodford to say to the Spanish authorities that "at this juncture the United States Government was constrained seriously to inquire if the time was not ripe when Spain, of her own volition, moved by her own interests and every sentiment of humanity, should put a stop to the destructive war and make proposals of settlement honorable to herself and just to her Cuban colony." General Woodford was

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directed also to inform Spain that this country, as a neighboring nation, with large interests in Cuba, would "wait only a reasonable time for the mother country to establish its authority, and restore peace and order within the borders of the island, and that we could not contemplate an indefinite period for the accomplishment of this result."

Whatever reception was given to these intimations by Spain, the tenor and tone of them showed that the end of American forbearance had been reached, and that the United States could not be expected longer to tolerate Spanish misrule, and the consequent menace to life and property, in Cuba. They foreshadowed coming events and the language of President McKinley's message to the United States Congress, in relation to Spain and her colony, under date December 6, 1897. Spain's response was, as we have hinted, the recall of General Weyler from Cuba, his replacement by General Blanco, and, later on, the proposal of an armistice pending offers of reconciliation between Spain and her contumacious colony. At this juncture the events occurred which preceded the outbreak of hostilities with the United States, narrated, with the incidents which have so far transpired, in the following chapter.



**GENERAL BLANCO.**

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

### CUBA, AND WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES.

WE now pass to consider, as succinctly as we may, the history of Cuba in its relation to the motherland, and to account for its alienation from Spain, as shown in its repeated attempts to free itself from a cruel and galling dominion. Interest in the story for the American reader must always be great, despite his familiarity with it, since it is due to the humane interference of the United States, which has gone to the length of war, that Cuba to-day stands to be relieved forever from the harsh and oppressive rule of the Spanish government and its political janizaries, and so secure her freedom. In the present century Spain, by her ineptitude in governing, lost, as we have seen, all her possessions in the mainland of the New World. The insular possessions she claims dominion over—especially Cuba and Porto Rico in West Indian waters, and the Philippine Islands in the Pacific—have long been estranged from her and affected with the chronic malady of revolt. This is due chiefly to local abuses in governing, but not a little also to national degeneracy in the central State, as well as to the strifes of political factions and

domestic discord in the Spanish peninsula. Spain, it is apparent, has fallen into decline as a European Power and lost her old-time governmental vigor and efficiency. There is no strong governing class in the country, and what there is is more or less characterized by unscrupulous self-seeking, and impregnated with corruption. She is still a mediæval and not a modern nation; all-powerful as she once was, she to-day retains only the shadow of her former greatness and lacks her once vigorous despotism. The air of our modern times has also been unpropitious to her dynasties. Even the Constitution under which she now lives, being modern, is unsuited to her backward condition, ingrained reactionary habits, and the dense ignorance of the mass of her people. The gloom of superstition and monachism is still over the country, and the minds of the people are, to a large extent, still fettered and unenlightened.

Productive as is the country, and greatly favored by nature, Spain's commerce is but of limited volume, while an atmosphere of decay hangs over many of its once famous provinces and over not a few of its erstwhile prosperous towns. The nation which, in Arab, Moor, and Jew, expelled its most industrious and, in many respects, its most skilled artisans, still lingers in the dark shadow of bigotry and superstition, and, hugging her decline, refuses to keep step with the march elsewhere of political freedom and material advancement. To a nation thus keeping out of the great currents of human life

and activity, and inhospitable towards liberal ideas, what hope can there be of avoiding political atrophy and the on-coming of national decrepitude? But Spain's condition is not yet that of the Chinese, though political corruption is about as rampant as it is in the Far East, and self-seeking is as greedy and unblushing. And yet there are many liberal-minded and intelligent people in the kingdom, though not always among the trusted men of affairs, for the rogues are too many and exigent and the offices, abroad and at home, are fully filled with them. This is the fundamental cause of hatred to Spanish rule in her colonies, coupled with an extortionate avarice and an insolent haughtiness toward subject-races.

In the war now entered upon with the United States, Spain, whatever may be her financial straits, and however far she may have fallen from her early greatness, cannot surely be so inert as to give up the struggle without a hard fight, or weakly abandon what remains of her once vast colonial Empire. Nor, even in these degenerate days, is the Spanish character such as would tamely submit to the serious loss or diminution of the national inheritance. Whatever deterioration in the past century has marked Spain's political life, and however weak and often corrupt have been her successive governments, the bone and sinew of the nation is still strong and capable of ably defending the country's honor and dignity. Especially is this the case in the rural districts, and in the great

historic sections of the country, such as Andalusia, Aragon, Catalonia, Castile, Navarre, and the Basque provinces where the manhood of the nation is to be found among the mountaineers and hardy peasantry. It is upon these districts that Spain largely depends for national military defence, and for the maintenance of her staunch and incorruptible "Civil Guard" and the flower of her regular army. To those who know the Spanish soldier only among the young conscripts and raw recruits in Cuba, it will seem extravagant to speak of a military force owned by Spain other than these, and against whom, should the war be prolonged, our own troops may one day be more fitly pitted. Unless, however, there come a life-and-death struggle for Spain—and Spanish pride may yet bring such an issue to pass—the more efficient element in the Spanish army is not likely to find itself confronted by American prowess. Yet even if that happened, it is doubtful whether Spain has generals, who are not engrossed in plundering the country, or playing the game of political intrigue, of sufficient experience and ability effectively to lead her choicer troops.

Just here, as well as in the administrative corruption at Madrid, is the weakness of Spain coupled with illiteracy in the people, want of restraining discipline, and any healthy training in political life. Yet the Spanish have many excellences of character, and, as we may some day find, are far from being a worn-out race. It has still •

some of the vigor of the ancient Celtiberian people, blended with the qualities which the race received by the blood infusion of Roman, Vandal, Visigoth, and Moor. Nor are they without the high traditions of a proud and once all-powerful people—a people who marched to conquest under the Roman eagles, stood up against the Moslem hordes as they overran their country, and fought under Wellington at Badajoz and under Palafox at Saragossa. But while they have not wholly lost the virtues of their warring ancestors, they have not abandoned the cruelties that marked an earlier and bloodier era in their annals. They are still the men of Alva's time and the era of the Inquisition, and their modes of fighting are those of Carlist guerilla bands rather than of the disciplined and humane modern soldier. This was shown, in all its horrors, in the Spanish methods of suppressing revolt in Cuba under Weyler.

Nowhere has the failure of Spain's colonial government been more miserably manifested than in her long oppressed and now desolated colony of Cuba. The island, though not the largest, is the most important transmarine possession of Spain, and but for the ever-recurring revolts and the savage methods of Spanish repression in the colony, Cuba might be the paradise which Nature evidently intended it should be.\* Discovered by Columbus,

\* *Cuba, the largest of the Antilles, has an area of about 45,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 1,600,000, of which about one-half are mulattoes or negroes. Its*

who described the island as the most beautiful the eye of man ever looked upon, the Spanish early began to trade with Cuba and to make Havana the centre of West Indian and Spanish-American commerce. As soon as its wealth became known, the island speedily fell a prey to freebooters and unscrupulous adventurers. Early in the eighteenth century tobacco began to be cultivated and at once became a monopoly of the government. From this time on, save for the brief period of English occupancy in 1762, the wealth of Cuba excited Spanish cupidity and greed. In 1777 the Peninsular authorities sent to the island a captain-general, with a clique of office-holders, whose rule and that of their successors have been the bane of the colony. From this period dates the race-hatred between the Insulars and the Peninsulars, which, as a writer has said, lies at the bottom of all Cuban troubles to the

*greatest length is 760 miles; its average width 30 miles. The surface, especially at the southeast coast, is mountainous, where the Sierra Maestra, which rises in some places to an elevation of 8,000 feet, runs from Cape de Cruz to Cape de Mayzi. Elsewhere on the island there are many rugged, hilly districts, interspersed by undulating, fertile plains. Large tracts of the country, chiefly in the eastern end, are still unexplored. The cultivated portions, which are only ten per cent. of the whole, produce with tropical abundance sugar, tobacco, maize, rice, yams, bananas, and coffee. Sugar, however, is the staple product; and, until interfered with by the war, was, with the tobacco crop, the island's chief source of wealth and the principal industry. Havana, the capital, has a population of about 250,000. The other chief towns are Matanzas, Santiago de Cuba, Cienfuegos, Puerto Principe, Sancti Spiritu, and Cadenas. The principal towns of the western division are connected by railroad.*

present day. Since that era, the racial dominance and grinding oppression of Spain have been thorns in Cuba's side, and made the islander, be he white or Creole, a revolutionist and an insurgent. Nor is this difficult to account for, since the colony has been held by Spain for the revenues it could extract from it, and as a preserve for its plundering civil and military officials.

Besides the corrupt rule of the official class and the extortionate taxation for the benefit of the motherland, the race question has added in no little degree to the difficulties of governing Cuba. From an early period the island has been noted as the chief slave-mart of the Western Hemisphere, and to slave labor is due the almost entire wealth-product of the colony. This, of course, has not helped the slave in any degree, for, like his black brother elsewhere, he has been of little account, except as a cog in the wheel of industrialism, and the underdog in the scuffle of classes and races. Only since 1886 has he been emancipated, though abolition, as a gradual measure, was decreed much earlier; but it was hotly opposed by the Cuban deputies (mainly of Spanish birth), who by royal decree, in 1878, were allowed representation in the Cortes at Madrid. It is to slavery, however, that Cuba and the other colonies of Spain owe the insufferable distinctions of class which have become ingrained in the Spaniard of the motherland, and disastrously influence his attitude towards the colonists and all who have been born out of the Peninsula. In the eyes of the

Peninsular Spaniard even the white Cuban has no social status, while the distinction is sharper still between the European Spaniard and the Creole. This affected superiority is intensified by the fact that the fat offices in the colony are alone held by the Spanish of the motherland, and, like the political connection, is used for the sinister purposes of extortion and race aggrandizement. The consequence is a disastrous growth of antagonism between classes, and the treatment of the Cubans as inferiors, whose rights the office-holding Spaniard is in no way bound to respect.

This inveterate caste-feeling has naturally made self-government impossible, and representation in the Spanish Cortes is little better than a farce, since the favored deputies are almost all natives of Old Spain. Nor has Cuban autonomy had any more hopeful chance, with such cheats and despots as Spain has, in the main, sent as Captains-General to the mutinous island. Where these absolutist governors have shown any favor to the colony, as in the case of Campos, "the Pacificator," who brought to a close the ten years' war (1868-78), Spain has failed to fulfil the promises which (*vide* the Treaty of Zanjón) formed the basis of the compromise. With such bad faith, and a rule so wanton in its disregard of right, need we wonder at the alienation of the colony from the motherland or that the island is a hotbed of sedition and revolt?

It would be tedious to chronicle in any detail the successive risings in Cuba against the tyranny of

Spain previous to the outbreak of the ten years' war. Slavery, as we have pointed out, was unpropitious to peace in the island; and in most of the early revolts in Cuba, as in those that deluged with blood the neighboring island of San Domingo, the slave and slavery were dread factors. The vicissitudes of the crown in the motherland gave opportunity, as well as the incentive, to outbreaks also in the colony; while the latter rarely had local administrators, such as Luis de Las Casas, who were in sympathy with the colored population, and had as their sole aim the prosperity and welfare of the island. It was under Las Casas's benign administration, between the years 1790-96, that Cuba was tided peacefully over the tempestuous era of the French Revolution, and the malign influence of French ideas on Spain and the Spanish Court, during the régime of the infamous Godoy. Had Spain had more of such governors-general as Las Casas, and could they have extended the sphere of their office to the nigh mainland, she might not have lost her possessions in Spanish America, while, at the same time, she would have saved Spanish rule from odium in Cuba.

For the first half of the present century, discontent only fitfully slumbered in the island. In the second decade, disturbances were rife, being chiefly incited by the conspiracy of the "Black Eagle," and other secret societies. In 1844, occurred another negro uprising; and, four years later, an insurrection among the Creoles broke out, followed by

the filibustering expeditions from the United States of the Venezuelan, Narciso Lopez. In the third attempt of the latter, in 1851, to snatch Cuba from Spain, General Lopez lost his life. About this time, the sympathy of the United States for the misruled and blighted colony began actively to show itself, and offers were made to Spain, under both President Polk and President Pierce, to acquire Cuba by purchase. Nothing practically, however, came of these overtures; while their rejection only served to increase the aversion of the people of the United States to Spain's despotic rule in Cuba. This aversion was at the period aggravated by the seizure by Spain of the "Black Warrior," a vessel engaged in commerce, and trading between the ports of Mobile, Havana, and New York. In 1868, the revolutionary movement in the Peninsula, which drove Isabella II. into exile, had its sequel in the colony, in raising the standard of revolt and declaring Cuba independent. The leader of this rising, which was the beginning of the ten years' war, was the Creole, Carlos de Céspedes, who set up a Republic in the island and was elected its President. So formidable was the insurrection, and so determined were the Cubans to make it successful, that it baffled Spanish ability to quell it, and the war dragged on, with varying success, for a period of ten years. For a time, the insurgents carried everything before them, though their forces were unequal to those the Spanish put in the field, and they were indifferently armed.

HAVANA



# THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

They, however, gained recognition of their belligerency from Mexico, Peru, and some of the states of South America; and the war made heavy drains, of men and money, upon the government at Madrid. Unfortunately, dissensions broke out between the civil and the military powers in the island, one result of which was the deposition of Céspedes; and with flagging zeal came, in time, the disposition to make peace. This was brought about through the interposition of the then Captain-General, Martínez Campos, whose conciliatory efforts induced the insurgents to make the capitulation at El Zanjón, and accept the promise of reforms and other concessions from Spain, which, however, proved but a snare and a deceit.

Through no fault of Campos, the compromise of Zanjón proved a nullity and not worth the paper it was written on. Canovas, who was then premier, refused to submit the treaty to the Cortes, on the ground that only the unqualified submission of the insurgents would be accepted by Spain. Even the concession of colonial representation in the Cortes, when it came, proved a farce, for the home elections were manipulated in the interest of the Peninsulars, and of the thirty deputies returned as representatives, all but four of them were natives of Spain and not of Cuba. As the result of the war waged for a decade, all that the Cubans gained by it was the burden of the debt incurred by Spain to suppress it, the devastation of their fair island, and the burning memory of how they were cajoled

in accepting an armistice, with the promise of reforms which proved delusive. If there was any satisfaction in their cup of bitterness, it was the knowledge of the fact that for ten years they had defied the power of Spanish arms, and that 75,000 Peninsulars had found graves in the blood-reddened soil of Cuba.

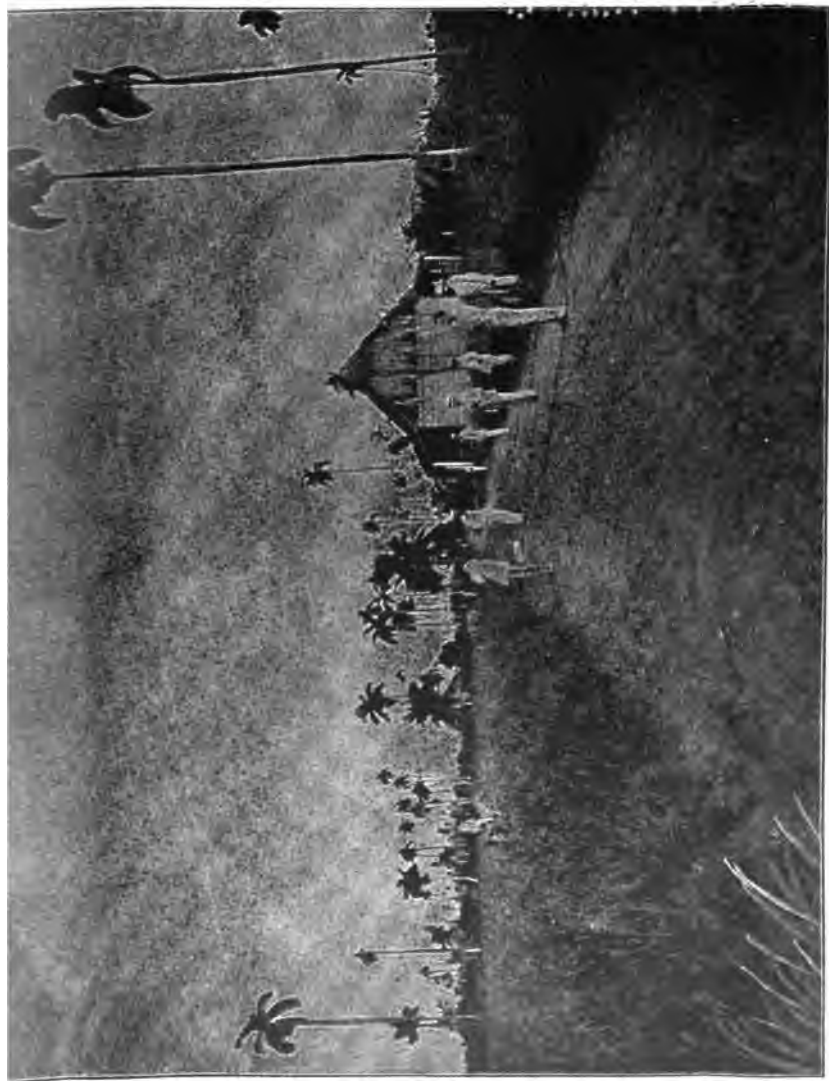
Not yet, however, was the spirit of resistance to cease in the colony. Hope of peaceful reform, or any substantial relief from the galling rule of the motherland, there was none. Taxation and exactions of all kinds continued to grow more and more grinding, and race-haughtiness, on the part of the Spaniards towards the islanders, became more intolerable. Moreover, scarcely a Cuban could gain office, and the whole body of the people were in fetters to Spain. Hope of liberation, therefore, lay once more in armed revolt. In February, 1895, the conflict was renewed, many experienced leaders in the former struggle—such as Gomez, Garcia, and the two brothers Maceo—taking part in the new outbreak. Another leading revolutionist—José Martí—joined the standard, but unhappily he was early killed in a skirmish. Though lacking the sinews of war, and at first indifferently armed and equipped, the insurgents organized a provisional government and under the veteran, Maximo Gomez, actively began operations. Without war-vessels, and holding none of the seaport towns, they necessarily had to limit their offensive operations and for a time to stand on the defensive.

They, however, possessed a thorough knowledge of the country, and had this positive advantage over the Spanish troops, of being able to find their way through the dense bush in the remote interior of the island, and from there make their foraging raids, in which they would often desolate populous regions, and frequently pounce upon and put to rout large bodies of the enemy.

Meanwhile Spain, though perilously near bankruptcy, stirred herself anew to put down the insurrection, by means of the regulars and the native embodied militia, some 50,000 strong, which she already had in the country. This force was supplemented by a new army from Spain, under General Martinez Campos, who once more was to direct Spanish military operations in Cuba. Unhappily for the motherland, the money that it had voted to make roads and open up the country (most of which had instead gone into the pockets of thievish administrators), now proved Spain's undoing, since no decisive engagements with the rebels could be brought about, but only desultory, and for the most part ineffective, skirmishes. In these collisions, the insurgents, as a rule, could always manage to have the best of it. Thus matters went on from month to month, the insurgents continuing to enlist sympathy for their cause, and to make steady encroachments upon the western sections of the island, nominally under the sway of the Spanish. So rapidly were the insurgents making headway, that several of the garrisoned

towns in the vicinity of Havana fell before their onward march, and even the capital itself was for a while in peril. Meanwhile, large tracts of the country were desolated, lines of railway were torn up, villages were burned, and to prevent Spain from deriving revenue from the soil, the tobacco and sugar-cane crops were destroyed.

While these depredations were occurring and the capital menaced, the gentle Campos was recalled, and Spain despatched General Weyler to command her troops in the colony. Up to this period, it has been stated, the war had cost the Spanish government sixty million dollars, in addition to the immense debt she had contracted and thrown as a burden upon the colony, for the expenses of the war of 1868-78. With 100,000 troops now in Cuba, against a body of insurgents less than a third of that number, it was hoped that Spain would, with Weyler's generalship, make a speedy end of the rebellion. Unhappily, all that Spain was now to accomplish was to make Cuba a barren waste, and the name of her general a by-word for inhuman callousness and wanton butchery. Extermination on the one side provoked a like barbarity on the other, and horrible stories are related of the methods of warfare pursued by both groups of combatants. The latter include, on the Spanish side, the arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and putting to death of non-combatants, with the hideous penning up and starving, in crowded, pestilential towns, of the reconcentrados, and the



TOBACCO PLANTATION.

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JOHN  
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AND  
JOHN  
W. HOGAN  
NEW  
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1898

laying waste of their crops and holdings. On the other side, the insurgents are responsible for murderous ambushes, the wrecking of trains with dynamite, and the inhuman shooting of an officer on a mission of peace, whose life should have been held inviolate.

These atrocities are not war, save in the view entertained of war by half-breed island desperadoes, and by Peninsular adventurers, emulating the brutalities of Spain's embruted soldiery under Alva and other sixteenth-century swashbucklers and exterminators. On the Spanish side, it is no mitigation of the case to say that the Cubans are rebels, who are mere assassins, and whose military exploits do not rise above rapine and plunder. They have not, it must be remembered, the status of soldiers, to whom have been accorded belligerent rights, while, if Cuban reports are only half true, they have been treated, especially under Weyler, as bandits, and without the pale of honorable warfare. Moreover, no small portion of the rebel force is of negro blood, infuriated by the horrors of the situation; while both Cubans and Creoles are already too familiar with rebellion. This may not excuse the atrocities which they are known, alike with the Spanish, to have committed, though it, in some degree, palliates the offences with which the insurgents are charged, and in Spain's inability to suppress disorder mitigates our judgment of the cause in which the Cubans have been driven to take up arms. Nor must we, in justice, fail to blame ourselves for the

evil effects of American incitements to rebellion, in the moneys invested in the island and raised in the United States to aid and equip the insurgents, not to speak of the various filibustering expeditions which have been suffered to leave this country, in spite of the neutrality laws and governmental watchfulness. These criminal incentives and illicit interferences, if they have not occasioned, have at least prolonged the struggle; while they have naturally aroused in the Spanish command a bitter spirit of resentment, which has been cruelly visited upon the unhappy colony.

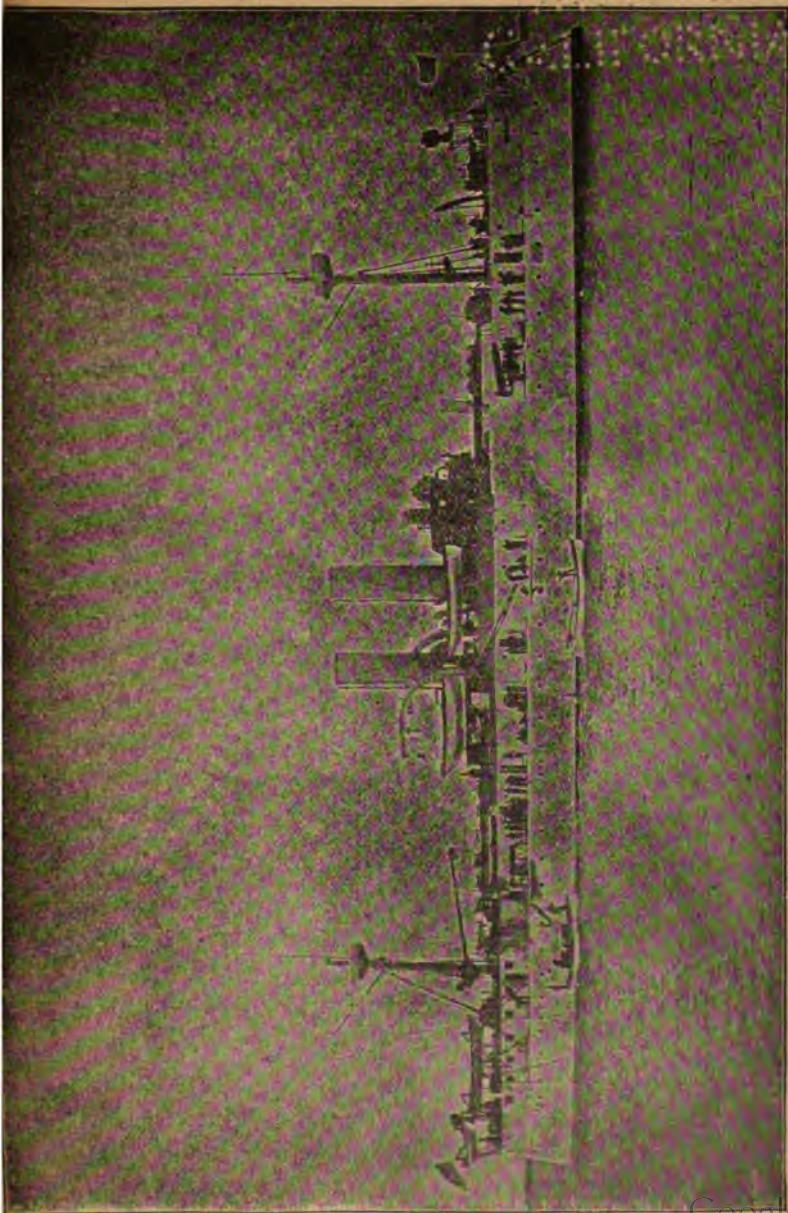
The insurgents have taken heavy toll of Spanish life for all they have suffered, and in the many engagements with the enemy, though the results have been often over-colored, they have, in forays, encounters, and night attacks upon the trocha, inflicted frightful losses. Not the least disastrous to the Spanish were the dashing raids, in the years 1896-97, of Gomez and the Maceos into the middle and western provinces, as far as Pinar del Rio, though the death in a skirmish of Antonio Maceo, in the latter year, seemed to lessen the vim of these forays, and, with waning resources, counsel only sporadic activity in the secluded eastern region of the island. It was the menace of such forays, together with the duration and consequent expense of the conflict, and the urgent call for some decisive action, that led Weyler to issue and enforce his inhuman order respecting the reconcentrados, withdrawing them from their little holdings and

penning them up in the towns, so that they should give no aid or encouragement to the rebels. This act was the more infamous owing to the insanitary conditions under which these unfortunate non-combatants were compelled to live, and the callous indifference of the Spanish who left them and their families without bread. The horrors of the situation, first effectively brought to public notice by Senator Proctor, in his impressive account of his visit to Cuba, in the early part of the present year (1898), could not but awaken the world's sympathies for the tragic condition in which the reconcentrados were placed by Weyler's act. Of greater practical moment, however, was the effect of Senator Proctor's recital of facts in the American congress and nation, and especially on President McKinley and his cabinet. It once more, and now effectively, aroused the Executive of this country to insist that the long tolerated abuses of the governing power in Cuba shall cease, and that the conflict waged by the islanders for freedom and exemption from oppression shall in humanity's name come at once to a close.

Happily, this demand was not sprung upon Spain unawares. On the contrary, the Peninsular government must have been prepared for it, since two successive United States Presidents had made the horror and menace of affairs in Cuba the subject of animadversion in messages to Congress, and thus given Spain unmistakable and specific warning. In addition to this, diplomatic protest had repeat-

edly been made to Spain through the regular official channels. President McKinley's own words are on record in support of this, for in March, 1898, he announced to the nation "that he had exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs at our doors." The result of our interposition was the recall of General Weyler, and his replacement in the Captain-Generalcy of Cuba by General Blanco, together with the rescinding of the order to pen up the reconcentrados in the famine and pestilence stricken towns.

But distress in Cuba, calamitous as it was, was not alone the cause of arousing moral indignation among the people of the neighboring American Republic. Nor was it the fact that Americans had large vested interests in the industries of the island, which suffered by the blight and ruin of the long war. Another cause for indignation, and a motive for intervention, was the ill-treatment and constant peril of her naturalized citizens residing in Cuba, and the imprisonment and putting despotically to death, with or without justification, of suspected or obnoxious persons of American origin or nativity. Such an instance of this violation of rights was the case of Dr. Ricardo Ruiz, who, though innocent of any offense, was arrested, court-martialed, imprisoned, and in some manner done to death, without his family or friends knowing anything of the outrage until after his death. Similar arbitrary methods, in the treatment of other American citizens, coming to light, to-



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gether with complications arising out of filibustering expeditions from the United States, which could not be wholly guarded against or put a stop to, wrought the American people up to a high pitch of excitement, and, with the inhumanity towards the pacificoes and reconcentrados, everywhere raised a clamor for intervention.

So greatly were the United States stirred by these acts, that when Captain Sigsbee's despatch came, informing the government and naval authorities of the destruction of the battleship "Maine," and the loss of 266 of her officers and crew, no bounds could well be placed upon American restraint, for the instant inference was that the disaster was due to Spanish treachery. With or without reason, the blowing up of the noble vessel, while peacefully anchored in the harbor of Havana (Feb. 15, 1898), was deemed not only a criminal and dastardly, but a hostile, act on the part of Spain, only to be avenged by war. The part the destruction of the "Maine" played in the action taken by the American government, Congress and nation could not well be dissociated from the events which precipitated the war, though President McKinley, with becoming reticence, officially used the calamitous occurrence only as an evidence of Spain's inability to preserve order within the limits of her sovereignty over Cuba, and hence, in some degree, justifying intervention. Nor did the Naval Board of Inquiry, in its report, after investigation had been made, do more than settle the question

whether the explosion which wrecked the war-ship occurred within or without the vessel. Their decision was that the destruction came *from without*. The probability that this was so is warranted by the fact that the harbor had been furtively mined, though it cannot be said with intent to do a dastardly and unfriendly international act. We repeat, that at this juncture, when the temper and just indignation of the American people were aroused, President McKinley and his advisers acted with great restraint and moderation, and with a discretion that happily saved the country from rash and precipitate folly. As there was no conclusive proof of Spain's guilt or complicity in the foul act, the President of the United States did wisely, and, as we think, best consulted the honor and dignity of the nation, by quietly informing Spain of the facts, and leaving it to her sense of justice to make reparation, as far as that could now be done, when she was herself placed in full possession of all the circumstances. Though, later on, in referring publicly to the matter, the President pointed to it as "a patent and impressive proof of an intolerable state of things in Cuba," he, nevertheless, at this stage, refrained from specifically holding Spain responsible, or accusing her of treachery or criminality.

It is but justice to Spain to say that she expressed horror at the calamity and offered to submit to arbitration the question of responsibility. Her naval officers and the military and civic officials at Havana, when the affair happened, moreover, did all



**CONSUL-GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE.**

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that they could to save life, or pay respect to the dead in giving their bodies reverent and sympathetic burial. Spain hastened at the same time to propose an armistice, or rather to suspend hostilities in the island, until some agreement should be come to in regard to the offer of autonomy, which she declared her willingness to grant to Cuba, so as to end the war and give the colony peace. She also voted a sum to be expended in relieving the starving reconcentrados, though not until action had already been taken by the Congress of the United States, which voted \$50,000 for this purpose, as well as for the relief of distressed American subjects on the island. The American branch of the Red Cross organization, under Miss Clara Barton, directed by Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee, had also humanely forestalled relief, and did much to mitigate suffering in various parts of the island where want and misery most abounded. These anticipated measures of relief, by outsiders, manifestly qualify the credit Spain may seek to win for her own tardy and ineffectual efforts to conciliate the insurgents, and relieve the distressed among the non-combatant Cubans. Not only, moreover, did her efforts to relieve and conciliate come late, when the island had been made desperate by long-borne oppression and woe, but none of those who had been driven to arms could trust her offer of autonomy, or rely upon her good faith in giving effect to any measures of relief and reform she might now grant, to tempt the Cubans to submission. The proof of this

was the refusal of the insurgents to give effect to the armistice, or to accept autonomy, or anything else at Spain's hands, save unqualified independence and absolute freedom.

It was acquaintance with these facts, and of all the abhorrent conditions which had existed for more than three years in Cuba, that led to the definitive action in the American Congress and Executive that now expressed itself in war. We have already seen what preliminary action, in the way of expostulation, President McKinley has taken, in the diplomatic relations of the United States with Spain. In his Message to Congress (Dec. 6, 1897), in alluding to the hope that Spain would modify the severity of her dealings with her insurgent subjects in Cuba, the President stated that "it is honestly due to Spain, and to our friendly relations with her, that she should be given a reasonable chance to realize her expectations, and to prove the asserted efficacy of the new order of things to which she stands irrevocably committed." He went on to say that "she has recalled the commander (Weyler), whose brutal orders inflamed the American mind and shocked the civilized world, and she has modified the cruel policy of concentration," which herded the agricultural population in and about the garrison towns and destroyed and laid waste their lands and their dwellings. Against this course, which as a war measure was, and deserved to be, a failure, since it was not civilized war, but extermination, the President affirmed that "he had

felt constrained on repeated occasions to enter the firm and earnest protest of the American government." The protest was without avail, since, with the exceptions named, it had not mitigated the horrors of strife, far less brought about the termination of hostilities. Nor could the insurgents now be induced to accept any measure of autonomy; they even rejected proposals for an armistice, and went the length of shooting the Spanish colonel of engineers (Joaquin Ruiz), who entered the Cuban camp in the hope of inducing Brigadier Avanguren, a prominent insurgent leader and former friend of Ruiz, to listen to peace overtures, with promise of amnesty. This act had its hideous sequel in the subsequent capture and killing of Avanguren, with his mistress, her sister and a child, in a hut in the hills of the province of Havana, which Avanguren was known to frequent.

The circumstance shows the temper of both sides in the unhappy war, and proves how little was to be hoped for in ending the strife save by American intervention. If further evidence is sought to establish this fact, it is to be found in the change of Presidents of the Cuban Republic, which took place towards the close of the year 1897, in the belief that the new President, Bartolomé Masso, would be less amenable to the blandishments of Spain, in offering autonomy and an armistice, than the former president, Mendez Capote. The change of Presidents specially emphasized the decision of the Cuban Republic to listen to no overtures of peace.

Indeed, there is a clause in a recent proclamation issued by the revolutionary government which threatens with death anyone entering the rebel lines bearing propositions for the restoration of peace through autonomy.

Once more, to prove the illusiveness and hollow character of Spanish schemes of Cuban autonomy, it is only necessary to point to the intercepted letter of Señor de Lome, the Spanish minister at Washington, who over his own signature spoke impliedly of autonomy as not to be seriously entertained, but only to be made use of as a device to gain delay. The letter, it will be remembered, was so genuine, as well as offensive in its allusions to President McKinley, that the Spanish minister, when it became public property, was shamed into surrendering his post and speedily took leave of the Capital.

We now reach the period of definitive action, on the part of the United States, having, as we trust, made it clear that American intervention was no hasty or ill-considered course and without justification in its resort to hostilities. The first step in preparing for war was taken on March 8 (1898), when the House of Representatives voted fifty million dollars, as an emergency fund, to be placed at the disposal of the Executive, for the national defenses, and on the following day the appropriation was endorsed by the Senate and at once approved by the President. Instantly, all the activities of the military departments and the navy yards were set in motion, the fleet was overhauled, Cap-



**EX-MINISTER DE LOME.**

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ain Sampson taking charge of the United States squadron at Key West, and Commodore Schley assuming formal command of the flying squadron at Hampton Roads. Additions to the navy were authorized to be built, and suitable auxiliary vessels, wherever obtainable, were to be purchased and put in commission. The regular army of the nation, with its equipments, was concentrated at certain points near the sea, ready for embarkation for Cuba, and later on two calls were made by the President on the volunteers of the country, who were mobilized to the extent of 200,000 men, each State furnishing its quota. The regular army was at the same time increased to 62,000 men, in addition to a body of engineers 3,500 strong, and 3,000 special cavalry, designated "rough riders"—making a total of about 275,000 regulars, volunteers, and militia. Two additional artillery brigades were also called into existence, while the Navy Department added considerably to the fleet by the purchase and arming of fast steamers, to act as scouts and despatch boats, and partly as transports.

Despite the activities, in the preparation for war, both in the United States and in Spain, negotiations were continued between Washington and Madrid for a settlement, if possible, of the Cuban problem. General Woodford, the United States minister at Madrid, had repeated conferences with Señor Sagasta, the Spanish premier; while the representatives of the European powers at Washington had interviews with President McKinley, tendering

the good offices of their respective governments in the interests of peace. His Holiness the Pope intervened, also, to avert war, but diplomatic intervention came too late. On the 11th of April President McKinley transmitted his message on the Cuban situation to Congress, asking for full powers to enable him to enforce the pacification of the island, and to secure the establishment of a stable government capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations. Both Houses, with remarkable unanimity, agreed to a series of resolutions calling for immediate action by the Executive, and empowering the President to use the entire land and naval forces of the country, and to call into its service the militia of the several States to such an extent as may be necessary to give effect to the resolutions. On receipt of the latter, an ultimatum, based upon its requirements, was sent to Spain demanding her withdrawal from Cuba, and giving the Spanish government until noon on the 23rd inst. to reply. Copies of the resolutions and the ultimatum were placed in the hands of Señor Polo at Washington, who had succeeded Señor de Lome at the Spanish embassy, and he at once requested his passports. General Woodford at Madrid was also put in possession of like documents, but before he could present them to the Spanish government he was notified that all diplomatic relations between the two nations had been severed and he was given his congé and at once left Madrid. The rupture was therefore complete, and with the

passing of a formal declaration of war (April 22), the United States proclaimed a blockade of certain ports on the north coast of Cuba.

While these events were happening near home, suddenly there came news from the Far East of a great blow to Spanish dominion in her distant possessions in the Pacific, and of the signal triumph of American marine prowess. The United States Asiatic squadron, which, at the outbreak of the war, was at Hong Kong, was necessitated to leave its harbor, owing to Great Britain's proclamation of neutrality. The squadron, which was under the command of Commodore George Dewey, consisted of the protected cruisers "Olympia," "Boston," "Baltimore," and "Raleigh," the gunboats "Concord" and "Petrel," and the dispatch boat "McCulloch." In pursuance of orders from Washington, when the fleet left Hong Kong, it was directed to steam for the Philippine Islands,\* Spain's possession in the Southern Pacific, and, if possible, capture or destroy the Spanish fleet known

*\*The Philippine Islands were discovered in 1521 by Magellan, who was killed on one of the group. The Philippines extend almost due north and south from Formosa to Borneo and the Moluccas. The group consists of about 2,000 islands of all sizes. The more important of the group are Luzon, Camarines, Mindoro, Mindanao, and Palawan. The entire area is estimated at 114,326 square miles, with a population in the neighborhood of 7,000,000. The native inhabitants are mostly of the Malayan race, but there are some tribes of Negritos. The capital of the Philippines is Manila, with a population of 175,000. There is a small Spanish population and a considerable number of Chinese.*

*Settlement was first begun in 1565. Four years later, the Philippines were officially annexed to Spain, and they have*

to be in the vicinity as a protection to Manila, the capital of the Islands. The orders were literally obeyed, and, thanks to the heroism of the United States naval commander, a deed was done in Philippine waters, in the early morning of May 1, that will forever live in American annals. On the night of April 30, Commodore Dewey and his fleet, under cover of the darkness, forced a passage into Manila Bay, and, disregarding the batteries on Corregidor Island at its entrance and the mines supposed to block the channel, took a position in the inner waters of the bay which, when day dawned, enabled the fleet to attack and demolish the Spanish squadron in Cavité harbor, an inlet of Manila Bay, together with the shore defences.

Of the whole Spanish fleet, consisting of seven cruisers and a number of gunboats, nothing practically was left after the brave Dewey had made an end of his work. The havoc among the Spanish ships was frightful, and the issue was, in the highest degree, decisive. The American fleet, owing to the admirable manœuvring of its command and the poor gunnery of the Spaniards, suffered little; while there was no loss of American life, but only

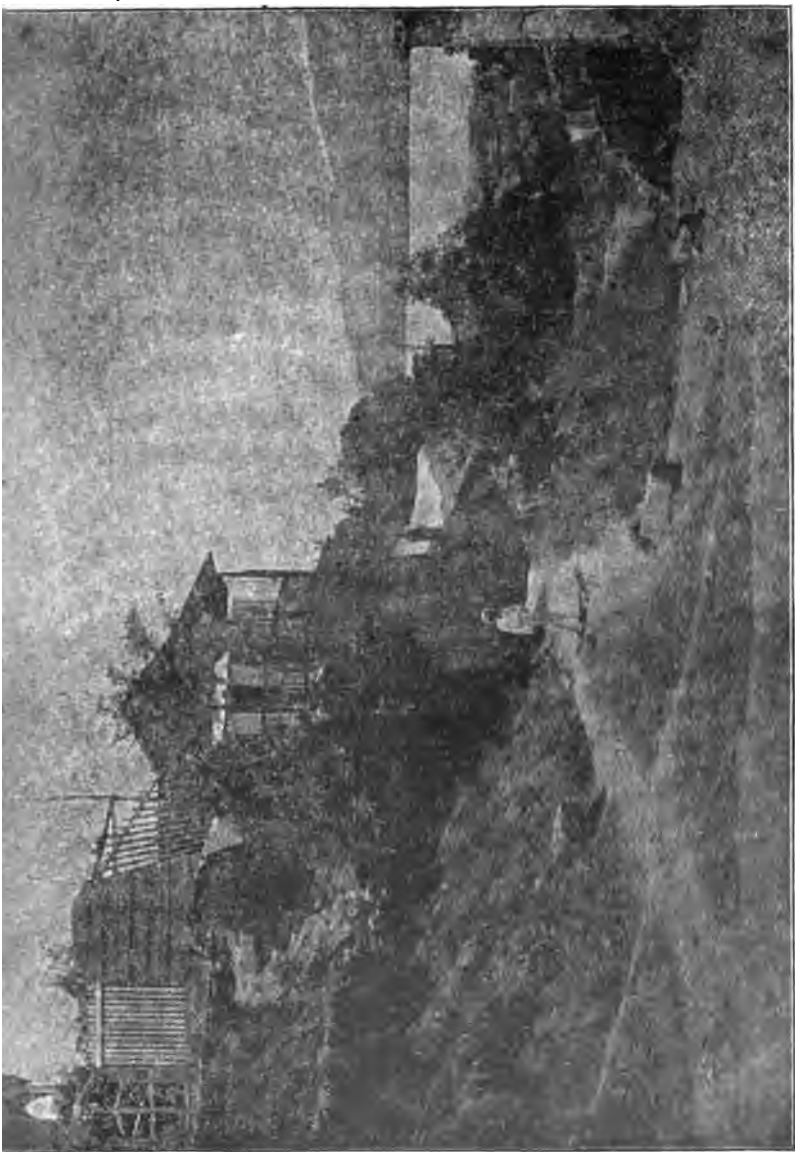
*since remained an integral part of the Spanish dominions. The crown is represented by a governor-general and a captain-general. The government is sub-divided into 54 provinces, ruled by Commandants and Alcaldes. Besides Manila, there are several other considerable towns, varying in population from 25,000 to 40,000. The chief exports are sugar, hemp, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, and rice. The principal industry at the capital is the manufacture of cigars and cheroots.*

a few slight casualties. The celerity and vigor of the skilled movement, no less than the daring that inspired it, and the thoroughness with which the enemy was beaten, won for the action world-wide astonishment and applause. The effect on the fortunes of Spain, in the loss of her valuable Pacific possessions, is manifestly disastrous, for with the land force which the United States has now sent thither, Admiral Dewey will be enabled to take Manila, the capital, and hold the Islands as a conquest. Nor, from a humanitarian point of view, can this result be regretted, since Spanish despotism, with its intolerable oppression and centuries of extortion, has been long in full play, and the Islanders have had to bear a tyranny hardly less odious than that which has called for American intervention in Cuba.

Admiral Dewey's achievement, while it occasioned much American rejoicing, and in its moral effect at the outset of the war outweighing, as President McKinley observed in his message of thanks to the victors, any material advantage to the United States, was naturally a matter of profound regret and chagrin to Spain. The disaster caused serious uprisings in the Spanish peninsula, and much rioting ensued at Madrid, while it also brought grave embarrassment to the government, which had been making active war preparations and was about to dispatch a fleet to West Indian waters. The fleet, which had been stationed for a time at the Cape Verde Islands, under the command of Admiral

Cervera, now received sailing orders, and for some weeks it was a source of anxiety to the American naval authorities, who were in doubt as to its destination, and even as to its whereabouts. After some suspense, and much sailing to and fro in search of it, its Admiral (Cervera) ran into the land-locked harbor of Santiago de Cuba, one of the ports on the southeastern coast of the "Pearl of the Antilles."

Here, as we conclude this chapter, the Spanish fleet is sheltering, while the port is closely watched from the outside by a formidable array of United States war-ships, eager to have an encounter with the enemy. The outer defences of the port have been demolished by the investing squadrons, but the channel admitting to the harbor is narrow, tortuous, and heavily mined, so that it is hazardous to effect an entrance, and the Spanish fleet is therefore safe in its retreat, until it can be reached by siege operations from the rear. Meantime, the channel has been obstructed by the sinking of a vessel, the "Merrimac"—a daring stratagem of Admiral Sampson's, gallantly carried out by seven men of a volunteer crew; while his fleet patrols, with wary watchfulness, in front of the blockaded port. The assembled fleet, it may be said, is now so strong, and has just been added to by the arrival of the "Oregon" from Pacific waters, that there is talk of a resumption of hostilities against San Juan, and the immediate capture and occupation of Porto Rico.



VIEW NEAR SANTIAGO.



Previous to Cervera's escaping the vigilance of the American war fleet and its marine scouts, several demonstrations were made by the blockading squadrons under Admirals Sampson and Schley against the port-defences of Cuba and Porto Rico. These operations included attacks upon Matanzas, Cienfuegos, Cardenas, and Santiago de Cuba, as well as upon San Juan, the capital of Porto Rico. Other diversions were from time to time made against the shore-defences erected by the Spanish troops in Cuba under Captain-General Blanco, and several efforts, with varying success, were also made to land men, ammunition, and supplies for the insurgents on the "ever-faithful island." The failure, for a time, of the "Gussie" to effect a landing in Cuba, with contraband of war for General Gomez and the Cubans, shows General Blanco's watchfulness, and the command the Spanish have of the coasts. It also shows how little the insurgents may be relied upon to help themselves, or to facilitate the Americans helping them, when the time comes for invasion.

The shutting up in Santiago de Cuba of Cervera's fleet and the menace of invasion, on a large scale, in Cuba, with the prospect of losing Porto Rico and having to haul down her flag in the Philippine Islands, are for Spain gravely untoward and depressing circumstances. Whether they will lead the nation to sue for peace, or incite to the interposition of such European Powers as are anxious to save Spain from further loss and humiliation, can-

not at the present juncture be divined. The Sagasta reconstructed ministry, it is true, is, with the Cortes, eager for the prosecution of the war, but the nation is grievously crippled financially, and the people are in a mutinous and distrustful condition. Nor is the prospect more hopeful with party jealousies and dissensions and the absence of any reputable figure in military circles capable of putting heart in the nation and shaping out, on any hopeful lines, the future conduct of the war. The gravity of the case obviously counsels discretion, but discretion is not a Spanish virtue, and it ill consorts with Spanish pride. Did she but heed the voice of her best friends, Spain would make haste, while there is time, to mend her ways, and, resigning her colonies, which notoriously she has no gifts for managing, concentrate her energies to the task of developing the great resources of the rich peninsula in which her real greatness lies.

# KINGS OF SPAIN

## SINCE THE UNION OF CASTILE AND ARAGON

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### HOUSE OF ARAGON.

FERDINAND V., THE CATHOLIC . . . . . 1512

### HOUSE OF HABSBURG.

CHARLES I. . . . .	(accession)	1516
PHILIP II. . . . .	"	1556
PHILIP III. . . . .	"	1598
PHILIP IV. . . . .	"	1621
CHARLES II. . . . .	"	1665

### HOUSE OF BOURBON.

PHILIP V. . . . .	"	1700
FERDINAND VI. . . . .	"	1746
CHARLES III. . . . .	"	1759
CHARLES IV. . . . .	"	1788
FERDINAND VII. . . . .	"	1808

### HOUSE OF BONAPARTE.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE . . . . . 1808

### HOUSE OF BOURBON (*Restored*).

FERDINAND VII. . . . .	1814
ISABELLA II. . . . .	(accession) 1833

## REPUBLIC.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT . . . . .	1868
REGENCY OF SERRANO . . . . .	1869

## HOUSE OF SAVOY.

AMADEO I. . . . .	1871-73
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## REPUBLIC.

DICTATORSHIP . . . . .	1873
(1) PI Y MARGALL,	
(2) SALMERON,	
(3) CASTELAR,	
(4) SERRANO . . . . .	After <i>coup d'état</i> of 1874

HOUSE OF BOURBON (*Restored*).

ALFONSO XII. . . . .	Jan., 1875
QUEEN CHRISTINA . . . . .	(regent) Nov., 1885
ALFONSO XIII. . . . .	born May 17, 1886; enthroned Dec. 1, 1887

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